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Central Eurasia

FBIS-SOV-93-196 CONTENTS *13 October 1993*

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

- Leaders Attend Council of Europe Meeting in Vienna 1
  - Kozyrev Cancels Attendance *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 8 Oct]* 1
  - Russia's Adamshin Addresses Council *[IZVESTIYA 9 Oct]* 1
  - Adamishin Wants 'Normal Relations' *[Vienna KURIER 10 Oct]* 1
  - Adamishin Stresses European Ties *[ITAR-TASS]* 2
  - Latvia's Ulmanis Attends Meeting *[Riga Radio]* 2
  - Ukraine's Zlenko Addresses Council *[Kiev International]* 2
  - Zlenko on Joining Council *[UNIAR]* 2
  - Lithuania's Brazauskas Comments *[Vilnius Radio]* 2
- Leaders Attend UN General Assembly in New York 3
  - Abkhaz Leader Issues Appeal *[Moscow Radio]* 3
  - Kazakhstan's Suleymenov on CIS Forces *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 8 Oct]* 3
  - Moldova's Tiu Calls For Troop Withdrawal *[Bucharest ROMPRES]* 3
  - Azerbaijan Rejects Karabakh Measures *[ITAR-TASS]* 3
  - Armenia Optimistic About Karabakh *[ITAR-TASS]* 4

INTERREGIONAL AFFAIRS

- Grain Harvest Not Expected To Exceed 1992 Level *[IZVESTIYA 8 Oct]* 5
- ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 13 Oct 6

RUSSIA INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

- Official Program for Yeltsin Japan Visit Published *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 12 Oct]* 7
- Yeltsin Offers Japanese Businessmen Trade Opportunities *[ITAR-TASS]* 7
  - Apologizes for Treatment of POWs *[ITAR-TASS]* 8
  - Japan Appreciates Apologies *[ITAR-TASS]* 9
- Kostikov Reports on Yeltsin-Hosokawa Meeting *[ITAR-TASS]* 9
  - Hokosawa Accepts Invitation To Visit *[ITAR-TASS]* 10
  - Yeltsin Says Talks 'Going Well' *[Moscow Radio]* 10
  - Yeltsin Says 'Sins on Both Sides' in WWII *[ITAR-TASS]* 10
- Gaydar, Japanese Minister Discuss Foreign Aid *[ITAR-TASS]* 10
  - Gaydar Says Summit 'Constructive' *[Radio Rossii]* 10
- Yeltsin Sees Tokyo Visit as Start of New Relations *[Moscow TV]* 11
  - 18 Documents To Be Signed *[ITAR-TASS]* 11
  - Package of Documents Signed *[ITAR-TASS]* 11
  - Yeltsin, Hosokawa Sign 'Tokyo Declaration' *[ITAR-TASS]* 12
  - Details of Economic Declaration *[ITAR-TASS]* 13
- 'Final Round' of Talks Ends 13 Oct in Tokyo *[ITAR-TASS]* 13
  - Yeltsin Says Visit 'Very Successful' *[ITAR-TASS]* 13
- Yeltsin Discusses Territorial Issue at News Conference *[ITAR-TASS]* 14
- Yeltsin Announces Withdrawal of Troops From Kurils *[ITAR-TASS]* 14
- Working Group Established To Draw Up Peace Treaty *[ITAR-TASS]* 14
- Yeltsin, Hosokawa Comment on Relations *[ITAR-TASS]* 14
  - Yeltsin Ends Visit *[ITAR-TASS]* 15
  - Notes Achievements *[ITAR-TASS]* 15
  - Holds News Conference *[Moscow TV]* 16
- Kozyrev Discusses Russian, Japanese Positions *[Radio Rossii]* 17
- Paper Views Progress of Yeltsin Tokyo Visit *[IZVESTIYA 13 Oct]* 17
  - Reasons for Visit Viewed *[MOSKOVSKIY NOVOSTI 17 Oct]* 18
- Number of Russians Against Returning Kurils Increases *[MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS 13 Oct]* 19
- Japanese Reportage on Visit Published *[cross-reference]* 19

- Agreement on ‘Legal Status’ of Troops in Georgia *[Moscow Radio]* 19
  - Officers Comment on Agreement *[Radio Rossii]* 19
- Commander of Russian Forces in Abkhazia Views Situation *[Vienna DER STANDARD 12 Oct]* 20
- Government Announces Christopher’s 21-23 Oct Visit *[ITAR-TASS]* 21
  - Further on Christopher Visits *[INTERFAX]* 21
- Government Welcomes Clinton’s Statement on Somalia *[INTERFAX]* 21
  - Peacekeeping Operations Viewed *[IZVESTIYA 9 Oct]* 22
- U.S., Russia Seen Lacking ‘Coherent’ Foreign Policies *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 8 Oct]* 22
- U.S. House Committee Support for Friendship Bill Reported *[IZVESTIYA 9 Oct]* 23
- Foreign Ministry Welcomes Latvian Proposal for Congress *[ITAR-TASS]* 23
- Official: Kiev Violates Nuclear Storage Accord *[HOLOS UKRAYINY 7 Oct]* 23
- Border Guards Decorated for Exploits in Tajikistan *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 8 Oct]* 24
- Government Comments on Tajik-Afghan Border Situation *[Moscow Radio]* 24
- Move From Germany Causes 26,000 Homeless Families *[Moscow Radio]* 24
- Yugoslav Embassy Denies Barkashov in Serbia *[IZVESTIYA 9 Oct]* 25
- Polish SLD Leader Kwasniewski Interviewed *[IZVESTIYA 7 Oct]* 25
- Polish Official Doubts Expulsions Will Hurt Relations *[IZVESTIYA 8 Oct]* 26
- Military Envoy to Poland Discusses Army *[STAZH BALTIKI 23 Sep]* 27
- Foreign Economic Ties Minister on Western Support *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 9 Oct]* 28
- Refusal To Sell Cryogenic Engines to India Viewed *[INTERFAX]* 28
- China Nuclear Power Deal Seen Opening to Wider Market *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 9 Oct]* 29

RUSSIA NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political Issues

- Yeltsin Signs Edicts, Creates New Constitutional Bodies 30
  - Creates Federal Assembly ‘Apparatus’ *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 12 Oct]* 30
  - Amends Statute on Federation Council *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 13 Oct]* 30
  - Sets Up Constitutional Conference’s ‘State Chamber’ *[ITAR-TASS]* 31
  - Endorses Statute on ‘Public Chamber’ *[ITAR-TASS]* 31
- Kazannik Comments on Charges Against Rutskoy, Others *[INTERFAX]* 31
  - Condition of ‘Revolutionaries’ Reported *[IZVESTIYA 12 Oct]* 32
- Officers Union Chairman Terekhov Indicted *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 8 Oct]* 32
- Sappers Search White House’s Underground Section *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 12 Oct]* 32
- Rescue Services’ 3-4 Oct Actions Praised *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 12 Oct]* 34
- Poltoranin Recounts Role During Crisis *[Moscow TV]* 34
- Presidential Council Member Favors Reform of Local Soviets *[ITAR-TASS]* 35
- Draft Civil Code Detailed *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 12 Oct]* 36
- Government Leaders’ 8 Oct Activities Reported *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 9 Oct]* 36
  - 11 Oct Activities Reported *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 12 Oct]* 37
  - 12 Oct Act, Appointments *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 13 Oct]* 37
- Gorbachev Interviewed on 3-4 Oct Events, Future Plans *[Moscow TV]* 38
  - Gorbachev May Come to ‘Country’s Rescue’ *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 9 Oct]* 40
  - Interviewed on Recent Events, Elections *[London TV]* 42
- Cossack Leader Offers ‘Unconditional Support’ for Yeltsin *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 7 Oct]* 44
- Aksyuchits Assails Yeltsin, Khasbulatov *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 12 Oct]* 46
- Editor Sees Beginning of ‘New Authoritarianism’ *[Rome LA REPUBBLICA 8 Oct]* 46
- Government Urged To Be ‘Democratic Collegial Organ’ *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 8 Oct]* 47
- Yeltsin’s Actions Against Supreme Soviet Supported *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 9 Oct]* 47
- Commentary Scores Former Deputies *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 9 Oct]* 49
- Necessity of ‘Dictatorship’ Evaluated *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 9 Oct]* 50
- ‘Political Games’ With Lenin Mausoleum Issue Protested *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 8 Oct]* 52
- Court To Summon Prominent Figures to 1991 Coup Trial *[ITAR-TASS]* 52
  - Trial Adjourned One Day *[ITAR-TASS]* 53
- FITUR Suspends Political Activities *[ITAR-TASS]* 53

Election Issues

- Ryabov Comments on Procedures, Funding for Elections *[Moscow TV]* 53
  - Gives Details on Electoral Districts *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 12 Oct]* 54

Parties, Organizations Submit Candidate Lists *[INTERFAX]* 55
  Commission Official Comments *[ITAR-TASS]* 55
Justice Ministry Lists Election Participants *[INTERFAX]* 55
  Two Communist Parties Included *[ITAR-TASS]* 56
Parties, Movements Prepare Slates for Elections *[KOMMERSANT-DAILY 12 Oct]* 56
Banned Parties Intend To Field Candidates *[SEGODNYA 12 Oct]* 57
Divisions Within 'Russia's Choice' Highlighted *[SEGODNYA 12 Oct]* 58
Parties' Election Prospects Assessed *[SEGODNYA 12 Oct]* 58
Sobchak Urges Postponement of Elections *[Hamburg BILD AM SONNTAG 10 Oct]* 59
Adviser Claims Yeltsin May Agree to Simultaneous Elections *[ITAR-TASS]* 60
Commentary Urges Postponing Elections *[SEGODNYA 12 Oct]* 60
Advisability of Elections Questioned *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 12 Oct]* 61

Economic Issues

Chernomyrdin Interviewed on Economic Future *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 13 Oct]* 62
Gaydar Comments on Economic Policy 63
  Holds News Conference *[Moscow Radio]* 63
  Discusses Budget, Regions *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 9 Oct]* 63
  Aide Interviewed *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 7 Oct]* 64
Finance Minister Fedorov on Economy, Inflation 66
  Comments on Reforms *[Moscow International]* 66
  Optimistic on Stabilization *[ITAR-TASS]* 66
  Estimates Deficit, Inflation Figures *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 9 Oct]* 67
Yeltsin Issues Edict on Foreign Investment *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 12 Oct]* 67
Shokhin on Repaying Foreign Debts, Elections *[Moscow TV]* 67
Economics Ministry on Foreign Investment Needs *[Russian TV]* 68
  Predicts Strong Future *[Russian TV]* 68
Completion of Privatization Expected by Mid-1994 *[Russian TV]* 68
Central Bank Blacklists 22 Moscow Banks for Debt *[Moscow Radio]* 68
Central Bank Reportedly Continued To Fund Parliament *[IZVESTIYA 12 Oct]* 68
Baltic Bank Allocates Funds for Moscow *[ITAR-TASS]* 69
Consumer Prices Predicted To Increase Sevenfold *[Russian TV]* 69
Monetarist Policies May Postpone Industrial Restructuring *[KOMMERSANT-DAILY 12 Oct]* 69
Dollar Cash Transactions To End in New Year *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 8 Oct]* 70
Banker Explains Changes in Domestic Use of Foreign Currency *[IZVESTIYA 8 Oct]* 70
10-Year Restriction on Resale of Land To Be Lifted *[KOMMERSANT-DAILY 9 Oct]* 71
Agricultural Situation Called 'Catastrophic' *[INTERFAX]* 71
Money Problems Behind Slow Harvesting, Planting Rates *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 12 Oct]* 71
Government Ready for 'Open Dialogue' With Trade Unions *[ITAR-TASS]* 72
Council of 'Experts' Discusses Economic Reform *[ITAR-TASS]* 72

Military & Space Issues

Chernomyrdin Chairs Meeting on Draft Military Doctrine *[ITAR-TASS]* 73
  Chernomyrdin, Grachev Discuss Military Issues *[INTERFAX]* 73
Experts Predict Russian '93 Defense Expenditure *[INTERFAX]* 73
'Major' Military Exercise Begins in Volga District *[Moscow Radio]* 73
Government Urged To Retain Parliament's 'Military Package' *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 12 Oct]* 73
'Power Ministers' Awards Questioned *[IZVESTIYA 12 Oct]* 75
Fate of Missing Internal Troops Discussed *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 12 Oct]* 76
Spacecraft Launched To Carry Goods to 'Mir' Complex *[ITAR-TASS]* 76
  Launch Completes '93 Flight Program *[ITAR-TASS]* 77
Proton Rocket To Enter World Launch Market *[ITAR-TASS]* 77

State of Emergency in Moscow

Moscow Mayor Praises Kulikov, Militia *[ITAR-TASS]* 77
Kulikov Reports on Enforcement of State of Emergency *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 12 Oct]* 78
  Expects Decree To Strengthen Crime Fight *[INTERFAX]* 78

- Servicemen's Curfew Violation Noted *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 12 Oct]* 78
- Police Detain Curfew Violators *[ITAR-TASS]* 79
- Police Report 'Near Perfect Situation' in Moscow *[ITAR-TASS]* 79

Regional Affairs

- Yeltsin Sets Up Mordovia Mission, Sacks Belgorod Official *[ITAR-TASS]* 79
- Local Soviets Discuss Yeltsin Edict on Self-Dissolution 79
  - Krasnoyarsk, Irkutsk, Ufa, Omsk, Kirov, Chelyabinsk *[ITAR-TASS]* 79
  - Yakutia, Karelia, Irkutsk *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 12 Oct]* 80
  - Khabaravsk, Altay, Barnaul, Volgograd, Sochi *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 12 Oct]* 81
  - Tambov, Kirov, Nalchik, Balkaria *[ITAR-TASS]* 82
  - Stavropol, Krasnodar, Tomsk, Novogrod, Kurgan *[ITAR-TASS]* 82
  - Arkhangelsk, Kaluga, Pskov, Saratov *[ITAR-TASS]* 83
- Mayor Sobchak Orders Closure of St. Petersburg Soviets *[INTERFAX]* 83
  - Soviets Continue To Work *[Moscow TV]* 84
- Deputy Prime Minister Chubays Visits St. Petersburg *[ITAR-TASS]* 84
  - On Expected Vote for 'Democratic Choice' *[INTERFAX]* 84

UKRAINE

International Affairs

- Foreign Ministry Briefing on Zlenko's Trips Abroad *[UNIAR]* 86
  - Zlenko on European Security, Alliance *[Moscow Radio]* 86
  - Zlenko on Visit to U.S. *[Kiev International]* 87
  - Further on Zlenko's Comments on U.S. *[UNIAN]* 87
- Zlenko Opposes Special Status for Russian Peacekeepers *[Kiev International]* 87
- Kravchuk Advocates Long-Term Economic Ties With CIS *[Kiev International]* 87
- Air Force Helicopters in Rescue Action in Georgia *[Kiev TV]* 87
- Kravchuk Accused of 'Temporizing' Over Moscow Events *[UKRAYINSKA HAZETA 7-20 Oct]* 87
- Prospects for Moscow-Like 'Bloody Conflict' Viewed *[UNIAN OHLYADY, KOMENTARI, PROHNOZY 11 Oct]* 88
- Moscow Denies Revising Massandra Fleet Agreement *[UNIAN]* 89
- Nationalists Demonstrate at Black Sea Fleet Base *[ITAR-TASS]* 89
- Military Official: 'Realistic' To Sell Part of Fleet *[UKRAYINSKA HAZETA 7-20 Oct]* 89
- Black Sea Fleet Officers Accused of Reselling Fuel *[ITAR-TASS]* 89
- Kiev Allegedly Asks Moscow To Buy Space Technology *[INTERFAX]* 90
- Lukyanenko Reportedly Resigns as Envoy to Canada *[HALYCHYNA 28 Sep]* 90
- German Government Delegation Ends 3-Day Visit *[ITAR-TASS]* 90

National Affairs

- Kravchuk Appoints New Transport Minister, Advisers *[UNIAN]* 90
- Kravchuk Meets With Trade Union Federation Head *[Kiev TV]* 90
- Kravchuk Meets With National Entrepreneurs Group *[Kiev TV]* 91
- Kravchuk on Liberalization of Coal Prices *[INTERFAX]* 91
- Cabinet of Ministers Discusses Coal Industry's Problems *[Kiev TV]* 91
- Kiev Considers Economic State of Emergency, Rationing *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 9 Oct]* 92
- 'Old Team's Players' Retain Posts in New Government *[IZVESTIYA 8 Oct]* 92
- 'Irreconcilable Stances' Demand Federal Structure *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 8 Oct]* 92
- Justice Minister Defends Communist Party Registration *[Kiev TV]* 93
- Republican Party Head Discusses Political Platform *[KYYUVSJA PRAVDA 5 Oct]* 94
- Rightwing Groups Allegedly Gaining Strength *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 8 Oct]* 95
- Economy Minister Shpek Advocates Economic Union *[URYADOVYY KURYER 5 Oct]* 96
- Adviser Views Reorganization of Security Service *[KHRESHCHATYK 5 Oct]* 98
- Navy Commander on Priorities, Personnel Changes *[INTERFAX]* 100

CENTRAL ASIA

Tajikistan

Level of Fighting Along Afghan Border Intensifying ... 101
  Situation 'Deteriorating' *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 8 Oct]* ... 101
  Russian Troops Under Fire *[Moscow TV]* ... 101
  Situation 'Relatively Calm' *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 101
  Russians Fired Upon From Afghan Region *[Russian TV]* ... 102
Russians Return Fire Across Border *[INTERFAX]* ... 102
  Opposition Shells Post *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 102
  Fighting Reportedly Under Way *[Moscow TV]* ... 102
  Rocket Attack Reported *[Moscow Radio]* ... 102
  Foreign Ministry on Situation *[Moscow Radio]* ... 103
  Provocations Continue *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 103
Afghan Diplomats in Dushanbe, Discuss Cooperative Ties *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 12 Oct]* ... 103
Most Political Leaders Ready for Political Dialogue *[INTERFAX]* ... 103
Authorities Discover Underground Arms Caches *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 9 Oct]* ... 104
Opposition Commanders Plan Joint Actions *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 104
Russian, Kazakh Border Guards Released From Afghanistan *[INTERFAX]* ... 104
Russian Commander Denies Rebel Capture of Officer *[INTERFAX]* ... 104
Abdullodzhanov on Importance of Political Stability *[INTERFAX]* ... 105
Abdullodzhanov Urges Improving Consumer Goods Market *[Dushanbe Radio]* ... 105
U.S. Special Envoy Pledges Urgent Humanitarian Aid *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 105

Turkmenistan

Afghan Aircraft Reportedly Attack on 5 Oct *[SEGODNYA 12 Oct]* ... 105
  Plane Reportedly Shot Down *[Russian TV]* ... 106
  Government Explains Incident *[INTERFAX]* ... 106
  Minister Denies Air Raid *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 106
Niyazov Addresses People's Council on Reforms *[Moscow Radio]* ... 106
Russian Troops Complain About Living Conditions *[Moscow TV]* ... 107

Leaders Attend Council of Europe Meeting in Vienna

Kozyrev Cancels Attendance

MK0810103493 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 Oct 93 p 1

[Dmitriy Gornostayev report in the "In Brief" column: "Kozyrev Will Not Fly to Vienna"]

[Text] Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev will not attend, as was initially planned, the meeting of the heads of state of the Council of Europe, which opens today in Vienna. According to competent sources at the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry, Andrey Kozyrev canceled his visit at the president's request, citing the need to resolve other foreign policy problems. According to reports from those same sources, this decision is not related to Boris Yeltsin's Tokyo visit. Instead of Andrey Kozyrev, his first deputy, Anatoliy Adamishin, will fly to the Austrian capital.

Russia's Adamshin Addresses Council

PM1210111193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Oct 93 First Edition p 4

[Report by Aleksey Portanskiy: "Russia Successfully Passes Through Candidacy Period"]

[Text] Vienna—Nearly 30 heads of state and government have arrived in the Austrian capital for the first summit meeting of the Council of Europe member states which opened 8 October.

Respect for the rights of the individual, a pluralist democracy, a rule-of-law state—agreement with these three basic principles is a condition for joining the council. Membership of the council is a kind of recognized criterion of a state's civilized nature, opening up opportunities for integration into other European organizations.

"I am sure that the European family can operate together within the framework of the Council of Europe," Winston Churchill stated back in 1942. And it seems he was not wrong. In recent years Hungary, Bulgaria, Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Estonia, Lithuania, Slovenia, and quite recently Romania have been admitted to the council. A further eight states, including Russia, have applied and are waiting their turn, having so far the status of "special guest."

Moscow conveyed its request to Strasbourg (where the council headquarters are located) in May 1992 but the entry process is dragging on. The main reason is the absence of a freely elected parliament in Russia and its unreadiness to accede to the European convention on human rights. It is true that imperfections in the legal field have been forgiven some newcomers (Bulgaria, Hungary, Estonia).

Boris Yeltsin was invited to Vienna but the president's stance is unequivocal: Only after Russia has been admitted to the council will he take part in such meetings.

After the planned free parliamentary elections have been held the main obstacle on Russia's path to the Council of Europe will be removed, First Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoliy Adamshin, who had come instead of Andrey Kozyrev, as expected, noted during the Vienna meeting. Russia is also prepared to receive observers to monitor the procedure for these elections.

One of the most acute and as yet unresolved questions on the continent is the protection of national minorities. The very definition of "national minority" needs to be elaborated, which will help eliminate double standards in examining, for instance, the position of Russians in the Baltic states and of Hungarians in Slovakia.

The recent outbreaks of racial violence in a number of West European countries have also put the question of racism, antisemitism, and xenophobia on the agenda.

Adamishin Wants 'Normal Relations'

AU1110203293 Vienna KURIER in German 10 Oct 93 p 5

[Report on "exclusive" interview with Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoliy Adamishin by Otto Klambauer in Vienna; date not given]

[Text] Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoliy Adamishin conveyed Yeltsin's commitment to democracy to the Council of Europe summit in Vienna.

The Moscow career diplomat is linked to KURIER through special memories: "When I first became deputy foreign minister under Shevardnadze, I gave my first interview here in Vienna for KURIER. Therefore, the KURIER interview is of sentimental value to me." In an exclusive interview with KURIER, Adamishin gave the following answers on the dramatic events in Moscow. He said:

—on Russia's expectations regarding Europe:

"We expect three things from Europe: First, more understanding; second, more solidarity; third, more help. To be quite honest and frank: I think that Europe has not given enough in any of the three spheres!"

—on the future of Russian-European relations:

"In my heart—and, to be quite honest, not only in mine—we are somewhat disappointed! We have received from Europe words rather than deeds. There have been more wishes than practical help. I am very much hoping that the recent events in Moscow will constitute a breakthrough in the position toward us. We are not asking for help—we are asking for nothing but normal relations. There is still a whole series of restrictions stemming from the Cold War era that are still in effect."

—on the West's support for Yeltsin: "Well, support for us was very strong and convincing. We are grateful for it! After all, the measures that we were recently forced to adopt cannot exactly be described as popular."

—on the issue of whether Western aid is damaging Yeltsin in Russia: "There may be people who say that our leadership is too dependent on the solidarity and help from abroad. However, what is much more significant and important is that we feel and realize that what we are doing meets with understanding and support. The advantages outweigh the disadvantages!"

Adamishin Stresses European Ties

LD0810134293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1810 GMT 7 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kuzmin]

[Text] Vienna, 7 Oct—Anatoliy Adamishin, first deputy minister of foreign affairs of the Russian Federation, arrived in the Austrian capital today to take part in the conference of heads of state and governments of the countries of the Council of Europe which is opening here tomorrow.

In an interview with an ITAR-TASS correspondent, he noted the great significance of the forthcoming Council of Europe forum at which Russia has special observer status. Our line in relation to Europe and its institutions, including the Council of Europe, is based on a desire to establish the sort of cooperation with our European partners that will be mutually beneficial and interesting for both sides. The recent events in Moscow underline the need to develop this sort of close cooperation. The time has come today for open, wide-ranging cooperation with Russia with efforts being directed toward carrying out democratic changes, Anatoliy Adamishin emphasized.

Latvia's Ulmanis Attends Meeting

LD0910090493 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1800 GMT 8 Oct 93

[Text] Latvian State President Guntis Ulmanis today took part in the conference of leaders and foreign ministers of the member states of the Council of Europe, [words indistinct]. He acquainted those present with the current economic and political situation in Latvia, Latvia's relations with Russia, and our country's stance on the question of the withdrawal of Russian troops from Latvia.

Guntis Ulmanis especially emphasized that the Russian delegation had expressed the wish to leave three strategic military sites in Latvia.

He recalled that Latvia [words indistinct] necessary for the solution of the problem, and also called on other countries to express their stance. Ulmanis also spoke about the citizenship law, (?saying) that it will correspond to all the recognized norms of human and citizens' rights. Ulmanis' speech was favorably received, and the leaders of the states of Europe expressed their support for the Latvian president and [word indistinct] problems. The Latvian state delegation to the Council of Europe conference in Vienna will return (?today).

Ukraine's Zlenko Addresses Council

LD0910212293 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1700 GMT 9 Oct 93

[Text] We already reported that the first Council of Europe summit conference began its work on 8 October in Vienna. Its participants include states applying for membership in this influential organization, Ukraine among them. Head of our state's delegation, Minister of Foreign Affairs Anatoliy Zlenko spoke at the session. He confirmed Ukraine's intention to become a full member of the Council of Europe as soon as possible. He informed the participants of the summit in detail about the democratic transformations in Ukraine, the preparation of a new draft Constitution of Ukraine and legislative acts related to the forthcoming elections.

The Minister emphasized the importance of further expanding Ukraine's involvement in the multi-faceted cooperation between states in the framework of the Council of Europe. Noting that at the basis of many existing conflicts lie rude violations of the human rights, particularly of ethnic minority rights, Anatoliy Zlenko voiced support for the Council of Europe work on the preparation of an international legal act to protect the rights of ethnic minorities. He called on the Council of Europe to pay more attention to the way member-states abide by their commitments, insisting that Ukraine, for its part, will do its best to ensure strict adherence to the norms and standards worked out by the Council of Europe.

Zlenko on Joining Council

LD1110085693 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 0715 GMT 11 Oct 93

[Text] Vienna, 10 Oct—The meeting of Council of Europe heads of state and government has ended. Speaking to a Ukrainian television correspondent, Ukraine's Minister of Foreign Affairs Anatoliy Zlenko said it was a welcome fact that Ukraine crossed the threshold of some of the Council of Europe institutions. He stressed that the republic could become a Council of Europe member only after elections were held to the new parliament and a new Ukrainian constitution was adopted.

Lithuania's Brazauskas Comments

LD1110140593 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1300 GMT 11 Oct 93

[Text] Participation in the general political, economic and defense space of Europe is Lithuania's basic strategic aim. This was stated by President Algurdas Brazauskas today.

Speaking at a news conference on the results of the Vienna meeting of the heads of states and governments of the member countries of the Council of Europe, Algirdas Brazauskas announced that heads of several states have critically assessed Lithuania's prospects of joining the NATO. The president noted that time and [word indistinct] will be needed for the republic to join this alliance. Algirdas Brazauskas announced that the NATO leaders invited him to visit Brussels in the second half of January 1994. He considers that this visit will facilitate the further development of the republic's contacts with the structures of the Atlantic defense alliance.

Replying to questions by journalists, the president confirmed Lithuania's intention to continue cooperation with Russia, and expressed his readiness to sign the prepared Lithuanian-Russian agreements in the immediate future. Algirdas Brazaukas also underlined the need to hold the previously planned meeting with Boris Yeltsin.

Leaders Attend UN General Assembly in New York

Abkhaz Leader Issues Appeal

LD0810185193 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1000 GMT 8 Oct 93

[Text] Today the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization, whose headquarters are situated in The Hague, circulated here a memorandum from Vladislav Ardzinba, chairman of the Abkhazian parliament. The document was prepared in connection with the talks on settling the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict, which are taking place in Geneva under UN auspices.

In particular, the memorandum contains an appeal to the world community to render moral, political, and economic support in restoring normal life in Abkhazia. In the near future, the document says, a draft of a democratic constitution of Abkhazia will be examined.

Kazakhstan's Suleymenov on CIS Forces

PM0810141593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Oct 93 p 1

[Anatoliy Ladin report: "Will the CIS Collective Forces Receive UN Mandate?"]

[Text] Kazakhstan's Foreign Minister Tuleutai Suleymenov addressed the 48th session of the UN General Assembly with a request that the international community recognize the CIS Coalition Defense Forces as UN peacekeeping forces in Tajikistan.

Dwelling on the idea of setting up a system of collective security in Asia within the framework of a conference on collaboration and confidence-building measures, the Kazakhstani minister stressed that states in the Asian region have an interest in preventing the emergence of new seats of regional and global tension. In his words, the CIS states' collective defense forces have become a restraining factor in the Tajik conflict.

Moldova's Tiu Calls For Troop Withdrawal

AU1010144393 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1605 GMT 9 Oct 93

[Text] United Nations, ROMPRES, 9/10/1993—"The high level of politization of the foreign military forces stationed in the Republic of Moldova is the mean threat at this state's independence, security and integrity", stressed in his address to the 48th session of the UN General Assembly Nicolae Tiu, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Moldova. At the same time he showed that the presence of a foreign army was a major obstacle in the path of the peaceful settlement of the conflict in the country's eastern districts. That was the reason why the Republic of Moldova considered as unacceptable the insistent proposals of the Russian Federation that the United Nation should give it a mandate for a peace-keeping operation that would proceed in conflicts zones in the territory of the defunct Soviet Union, Nicolae Tiu said.

Showing that the current conflict in Dniester was not an inter-ethnic one, as some quarters in Moscow insinuated, Minister Tiu said that the condition posed for the withdrawal of the 14th Russian Army, i.e. the granting of a special legal statute to Moldova's eastern districts was an attempt to keep that geographic area, including the Republic of Moldova, in Russia's sphere of influence.

The Moldovan foreign minister emphasized in that context that the situation in the conflict area of Dniester was tense and might become unstable. He announced he would ask that the UN General Assembly agenda should include an additional item regarding the complete withdrawal of the foreign troops from the country's territory.

Azerbaijan Rejects Karabakh Measures

LD1110200493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1845 GMT 11 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Sitnikov]

[Text] United Nations October 11 TASS—Azerbaijan has informed the U.N. Security Council of its disapproval of "the schedule of urgent measures" aimed at settling the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, which has been worked out by the CSCE Minsk Group.

Yashar Aliyev, charge d'affaires of the Azeri permanent mission at the U.N., wrote a letter, which was circulated here as a document of the Security Council on Monday.

Some of the clauses of the "schedule" contradict resolutions Nos 822 and 853 of the Security Council and the statement of the chairman of the Security Council of August 14, 1993, writes Aliyev.

In particular, in violation of Paragraph 3 of Resolution No 853 on unconditional withdrawal of the occupying forces from the occupied regions of Azerbaijan, the "schedule" introduces preliminary conditions for such a withdrawal, he emphasizes.

There is no mention of Azeri territories which are occupied by the Armenian forces and of measures aimed at their liberation which may "automatically mean the annexation of Azerbaijan's territory", Aliyev writes.

Accordingly, to approve of the document means to approve of the acquiring of a territory by force, which constitutes a gross violation of the U.N. Charter, the letter reads.

Besides, the "schedule" does not say anything about measures to be taken to solve the problem of displaced persons and refugees in Azerbaijan, the number of which has exceeded one million people as a result of military actions and occupation of a significant part of the country's territory, Aliyev adds.

Proceeding from the facts mentioned above, Azerbaijan cannot agree to "the schedule of urgent measures" in its present form and, accordingly, cannot support the draft resolution of the Security Council which proposes to approve the "schedule", he emphasizes.

Armenia Optimistic About Karabakh

LD1110205193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1851 GMT 11 Oct 93

[Text] United Nations October 11 TASS—Armenian Foreign Minister Vagan Papazyan called "promissing" the prospects of a peaceful settlement of the Karabakh conflict, addressing on Monday the 48th session of the U.N. General Assembly.

"The recognition of Nagorno-Karabakh as a party in the conflict and the Russian-brokered direct talks between its leadership and the Azeri authorities resulted in a ceasefire which has been lasting for more than a month already and is unprecedented in the history of the conflict", Papazyan said.

The minister admitted that the conflict which has already claimed more than 10,000 lives "still imposes danger on the security and stability of the whole region".

Papazyan reiterated Armenian position which boils down to the assertion that Armenia is not a party in the conflict which goes "between the Nagorno-Karabakh people striving for self-determination and the Azerbaijani Government refusing to warrant their rights and security".

He stressed that Armenia "backs the unconditional ceasefire and all the CSCE peace initiatives". The Armenian Government sees no alternative to the peaceful settlement of the conflict, he said.

Grain Harvest Not Expected To Exceed 1992 Level

PM1310082593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Oct 93 First Edition p 4

[Article by Viktor Nefedov, deputy chairman of the CIS Committee for Statistics, and Andrey Sizov, leader of the "SovEkon" Expert Consultative Center: "CIS Harvest Will Not Break Records"]

[Text] In the majority of CIS countries the harvest of grain crops (with the exception of corn) is nearing completion. In many of the Commonwealth states a rich harvest of grain crops is expected. However, the rainy and cold weather is hampering the progress of the harvest in Russia and Kazakhstan. As a result, the grain harvest in CIS countries will not exceed last year's level, when 190.5 million metric tons (after processing) were gathered.

Our assessment is that the gross grain harvest in Russia in the current year will amount to 105-107 million metric tons, that is, it will at best remain at last year's level.

The delayed harvest campaign is leading to a situation where, first, the quality of grain is deteriorating (what is being harvested is basically soft and weak wheat, with very few strong and valuable varieties) and, second, preparation for next year's crops is running late.

In many respects the grain harvest in Kazakhstan is following a similar pattern to that of Russia. Here hopes of 1992's record harvest being repeated have not been realized. Whereas at the beginning of the harvest the yield of grain crops was 15 percent higher than last year, at the end of September it was already 20 percent lower than last year. If the unfavorable weather conditions persist, the gross yield of grain may only turn out to be about 22-23.5 million metric tons, as opposed to 29.5 million metric tons in 1992.

However, it is expected that in the majority of other CIS countries the grain harvest will exceed last year's level. After the poor 1991 and 1992 harvests, production of grain crops in Ukraine will grow to approximately 45 million metric tons compared with 38.5 million last year, first and foremost due to a growth in yield. True, the expected harvest will be appreciably lower than grain production at the end of the 1980's, when the republic harvested more than 50 million tons of grain.

A growth in yield will also ensure an increase in grain production in Belarus and Moldova. It is estimated that the grain harvest in Belarus this year may amount to 7.5-8.0 million tons, which constitutes a record level for the grain harvest in this republic. It will be about 2.5 million tons in Moldova, which is 25 percent higher than in 1992.

Despite the fact that the yield of grain crops in the Central Asian states is a little lower than in 1992, an increase in the land under crops is causing grain production in the majority of the republics in this region to be stepped up. The most significant growth is expected in Turkmenistan. Grain production in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan will also increase.

State Grain Purchases Are Going Well For the Moment, But the Price of Success Is Very High

In the majority of CIS countries grain sales to the state are ahead of last year's "schedule." Only in Kazakhstan are they approximately half the level of mid-September 1992.

The sharp increase in purchase prices for grain in Russia stimulated a dynamic increase in grain sales to the state at the end of the summer and beginning of the fall. By the end of September purchases by the federal "Roskhleboprodukt" corporation had reached 21.6 million tons. This is 14 percent higher than last year and represents 67 percent of the total volume of purchases for the federal and regional reserve. However, the future progress of purchases may be slowed by the state's increasing indebtedness for grain deliveries to the state reserve stock. The monthly indexation of purchase prices for grain is being withdrawn from 1 October 1993 in the European part of Russia and from 1 November in the area to the east of the Urals. In these circumstances there is a possibility of a revitalization of grain trading on the exchanges, which practically ground to a halt in August and September as asking prices on the exchanges were lower than [state] purchase prices.

The upward surge in purchase prices, caused by pressure put on the government by grain producers, has led to a situation where the opportunities for creating an internal grain market have been undermined. This year they were very favorable.

All sides have ended up losers. With the present purchase prices, Russians will be forced to buy grain at prices only just below world prices when the per capita income is at a level well below that of Western countries. The increase in purchase prices is not only causing an increase in food prices, but, with a certain lag, is provoking a jump in wages and correspondingly a new bout of inflation. But in agriculture itself, a nonmarket mechanism for price formation is helping to preserve a high-cost sector. The artificially maintained much greater profitability of grain production is leading to other sectors of agriculture scaling down production which under these circumstances is becoming relatively disadvantageous due to its lower profitability.

Prospects for Grain Trade Developing Within the Framework of the CIS

These prospects are first and foremost determined by Kazakhstan's export potential. If circumstances are favorable, grain deliveries from Kazakhstan to CIS countries in 1993-1994 may amount to 6-7 million metric tons. This volume is in accordance with signed intergovernmental agreements. Within this framework, Kazakhstan will supply 3 million metric tons to Russia, 2 million metric tons to Uzbekistan, 1 million metric tons to Belarus, and 550,000 metric tons to Turkmenia. Apart from this, an agreement has been reached between the

Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan Governments on delivering 1 million tons of grain to Azerbaijan for helping Kazakhstan to bring in the wheat harvest.

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 13 Oct

LD1310082693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0805 GMT 13 Oct 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow October 13 TASS—Today's newspapers continue to highlight the political situation in Russia. They feature several interviews with leaders of the Russian Government, political and public figures, and reports on the situation in the regions after the October events in Moscow.

"The current situation has proved that many local councils are incapable of performing their functions, and the population has realised that the leaders of these bodies had adhered to erroneous, anti-reformist positions," Chief of the Department for Territorial Affairs under the Presidential Administration Nikolay Medvedev writes in the newspaper "ROSSIISKIYE VESTI". "They began to see it after the events in Moscow, which prompted many regional and territorial councils to adopt self-liquidation decisions," he adds. Medvedev believes that we are witnessing not a dissolution of the councils, but measures to streamline the representative bodies of government. Whenever they prove to be inefficient, their functions will be assumed by executive bodies of power, represented by regional administrations.

Expressing his view on the strategy and tactics of the Russian economic policy, First Deputy Premier Oleg Soskovets points out in the newspaper "ROSSIISKIYE VESTI" that "the government is opposed to any extreme actions, any abrupt shifts in the national economy. We stand for a policy of centralism, for a "middle line", the only possible one in the current conditions, which, at the same time, is the only possible vector of reforms. And we shall adhere to this policy firmly and consistently." The vice-premier believes it is possible to overcome the crisis and save the country from chaos and destruction only in this way.

The newspaper "KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA" reports that 1,044 employees of the apparatus of the former Russian parliament have expressed their desire to work in the apparatus of the federal assembly (the new parliament—ITAR-TASS). "However," the newspaper notes, "the Russian president has decreed that the apparatus of the future federal assembly is to be made up of not more than 537 employees."

"Financial stabilisation is perfectly feasible," Russian Vice-Premier and Finance Minister Boris Fedorov believes. He adduces the following fact proving his viewpoint in today's issue of the "RUSSKIE VESTI": The government was able to check the growth of centralised credits in the third quarter of the year at the level of 50 per cent, although pessimistically-minded experts claimed that the figure would reach 80-90 per cent.

Russian Vice-Premier Anatoliy Chubays is sure that the monthly rate of inflation in Russia will drop to 10 per cent at the end of the year. He believes that this can be achieved by toughening the crediting and financial policy. "For instance," Chubays says, "it is necessary to do away with easy credits, to raise the Central Bank's refinancing rate." Chubays mentions among the measures to revitalise the Russian economy such steps as official assistance to the expansion of the export potentials of enterprises, in particular, by cutting quotas and licencing export trade. "Furthermore," he notes, "it is perfectly feasible to sharply reduce the purchase of foodstuffs abroad, primarily grain. It is also necessary to arrest the further dropping of the rouble's exchange rate."

The papers continue to highlight President Yeltsin's official visit to Japan. The newspaper "MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA" carries several reports from Tokyo, capped by Yeltsin's statement to journalists, made in the Japanese capital: "Everything is going on well".

"KRASNAYA ZVEZDA", "TRUD", "RABOCHAYA GAZETA", AND "MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS" continue to publish materials devoted to this month's tragic events in Moscow.

Official Program for Yeltsin Japan Visit Published

PM1210143593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 12 Oct 93 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Program of Russian Federation President B.N. Yeltsin's Official Visit to Japan 11-13 October 1993"]

[Text] October 11 (Monday)

2145—Arrival at Tokyo's Haneda Airport.

2215—Arrival at Akasaka Palace—the Russian Federation president's official residence.

October 12 (Tuesday)

0920—Official welcoming ceremony for the Russian Federation president and N.I. Yeltsin by emperor and empress in the Akasaka Palace.

0950-1030—Talks with Emperor Akihito of Japan in the Imperial Palace.

1030-1230—Russo-Japanese enlarged talks.

1230-1430—Luncheon in Russian Federation president's honor hosted by Japan's economic organizations ("Tokyo Kaikan"); speech by B.N. Yeltsin.

1430-1900—Visit to the "Tidorigafuchi" Cemetery, wreath-laying at memorial to the war dead;

—First meeting between the Russian Federation president and the Japanese prime minister in the Akasaka Palace.

1930-2230—Official dinner in honor of Russian Federation president and N.I. Yeltsin hosted by emperor and empress; speeches of greeting by emperor and B.N. Yeltsin.

October 13 (Wednesday)

To be arranged—second meeting between Russian Federation president and Japanese prime minister in the Akasaka Palace.

1130-1415—Joint document signing ceremony in the Akasaka Palace.

1150-1235—Joint news conference by Russian Federation president and Japanese prime minister in the Akasaka Palace.

1300-1430—official luncheon in honor of Russian Federation president and N.I. Yeltsin hosted by the Japanese prime minister and his wife at the prime minister's residence. Speech by B.N. Yeltsin.

1515-1550—Official send-off ceremony for the Russian Federation president and N.I. Yeltsin by the emperor and empress in the Akasaka Palace.

1555—Departure from the residence for Haneda Airport.

1620—Departure for Moscow.

Notes:

Times given are local time.

Changes may be made to the program by agreement between the sides.

Yeltsin Offers Japanese Businessmen Trade Opportunities

LD1210132493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0827 GMT 12 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent]

[Text] Tokyo October 12 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin has indicated five concrete areas of possible mutually beneficial economic cooperation between Russia and Japan during a meeting with heads of local business organisations here today.

Russia, he said, is ready to offer the following concrete projects to japanese firms:

- Construction of a transcontinental optical fibre communication line;

- development of the infrastructure, primarily in the ports of Russia's eastern regions;

- creation of a safety system, enhancing the dependability of atomic power plants working on plutonium;

- space ventures, including the development of transport facilities, laser technologies, etc.

Noting that the collapse of the communo-fascist ideology in Russia was of particular importance for Russo-Japanese relations, Yeltsin stressed that the fundamental reason for confrontation between the two countries no longer existed both in the political and economic spheres.

"Russia is resolutely switching over to a market economy," he stated. "The supercentralised totalitarian-command system of economic management is being quickly dismantled. Numerous obstacles to lively economic relations between our two countries are breaking up." Yeltsin said he was pleased with the fact that there were signs, showing that the bilateral commercial and economic relations were beginning to overcome the crisis. The volume of Russo-Japanese trade began to grow in 1993. The Russian president noted the simultaneous expansion of cooperation between the two countries in the fuel and energy complex. He said that the "Mitsui" and "Mitsubishi" firms were stepping up their efforts to develop the Sakhalin petroleum and gas fields, and that the Yaroslavl and Khabarovsk oil refineries were being modernised with the participation of Japanese companies. The Japanese Export and Import Bank is financing the Russian Gas Industry Board (Gazprom). At the same time, he noted that many agreed projects in the energetics industry remained unfulfilled due to the hesitation of Japanese participants.

Favourable progress, Yeltsin believes, was achieved in the joint development of communication facilities. The Russian president recommended Japanese businessmen to contribute more actively to the implementation of the Russian programme for switching over the defence industry to civilian rails.

Yeltsin devoted special attention to lively exchanges of the far eastern regions of Russia and Siberia with Japanese prefectures. He described them as a "solid foundation for revamping relations between the two countries in the new conditions". Yeltsin said that "Japan's intellectual assistance" was very important for Russia's market reforms. He welcomed the opening of an international centre for small and medium-size enterprises in Vladivostok. "May contacts at the level of small and medium-size businesses pave the way to impressive ventures to tap the resources of Siberia and the Far East, as well as the resources of the Sea of Japan and the Okhotsk Sea," he said.

Addressing the meeting, president of the Japanese Federation of Economic Organisations Gaishi Hiraiwa stated on behalf of the local business circles that together with their government the businessmen of Japan were ready to render every possible assistance to the people of Russia. "Many people in Japan," he sta[illegible] have followed with a feeling of pain the tra[illegible]ents in Moscow". Hiraiwa expressed the hope that the current constructive dialogue between the two countries would be further promoted and would contribute to stabilisation and development not only in Russia and Japan, but in the entire Asia-Pacific region. Analysing the state of economic cooperation between the two countries, he made several remarks concerning the backwardness of the Russian regional infrastructure. Hiraiwa noted the absence of a reliable juridical foundation for cooperation and the problem of mutual settlements. The Japanese businessman expressed the hope that Yeltsin's current visit would settle the existing problems and would engender new cooperation projects.

Apologizes for Treatment of POWs

LD1210133793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0954 GMT 12 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow October 12 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin, currently visiting Tokyo, has presented official apologies to the Japanese people for "the inhuman treatment to which Japanese prisoners-of-war were subjected" on the territory of the former USSR after the end of the second world war. On behalf of Russia, the Russian Government and himself, the head of the Russian State expressed these apologies during an audience he had with Japanese Emperor Akihito, in the course of talks with Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa, and in his statement to heads of Japanese economic organisations.

It is never easy to make apologies, particularly in connection with such a deplorable case and at such a high level, but the president of Russia has resolutely taken this step, thereby discharging his duty of honour. President Yeltsin has done something that the Japanese people had looking [as received] forward to for such a long time, something that the leaders of the former Soviet Union refused to do.

The world knows that hundreds of thousands of Japanese officers and men were captured in 1945, when the Soviet Union joined the war in the Far East, routing the Japanese Kwantung Army. Their fate remained unknown for several post-war decades due to the efforts of the former Soviet special services. It was unknown not only to the Japanese people, to their relatives and near ones, but to the Soviet people, too. The Japanese side's persistent demands and the desire of several Soviet scholars to raise the curtain of secrecy, to publish trustworthy and detailed information on the problem of Japanese prisoners-of-war, were always cut short by the authorities.

Due to the efforts of Lavrentiy Beria, head of Stalin's State Security Committee and his associates, a strict taboo was imposed on all the information relating to the Japanese prisoners-of-war. The taboo was so strict that it remained in force even after Beria's execution. Quite a lot of obvious misinformation and fabrications, concocted by the special services, have appeared in the mass media and scientific works on Soviet-Japanese relations. For instance, it was reported slightly more than ten years after the war that only 3,957 men had died in Soviet pow camps.

In reality, the fate of Japanese prisoners-of-war in the former USSR was truly tragic, and the number of victims was much greater. More than 600,000 Japanese officers and men were kept in special camps in the Soviet Far East, Siberia, and in the central Asian republics of the former Soviet Union. The rigorous climate, difficult working conditions in pits and lumbering camps, on the construction of roads and other projects were responsible for various epidemics in pow camps, causing physical sufferings in addition to moral torment. The POWs were subjected to humiliation and various mistreatments. Psychological pressure was brought to bear upon them all the time in order to recruit agents for Soviet intelligence services. Hundreds of thousands of Japanese prisoners-of-war, by no means war criminals, were unlawfully kept in the USSR for many long years. According to information now on hand, which was published, for instance, in the newspaper "IZVESTIYA", more than 60,000 Japanese prisoners-of-war have died in Soviet captivity.

The history of the life of Japanese officers and men in Soviet captivity is awaiting its truthful description. This is needed, for the sake of justice, both by the Japanese and the Russian peoples, by the world community as a whole. The condolences, expressed by the Russian president in Tokyo today, are an important step in this direction, removing one of the most painful post-war obstacles to relations between the former USSR and Japan, to relations between the latter and nowadays Russia, successor of the former Soviet Union.

Japan Appreciates Apologies

LD1210121993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1104 GMT 12 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent]

[Text] Tokyo, October 12 (TASS)—Japan highly appreciates the fact that Russian President Boris Yeltsin made today official apologies to the Japanese people on behalf of Russia for "inhuman actions with regard to Japanese prisoners-of-war" interned to the territory of the former USSR in the 40s. President of the Japanese Association of Former POWs Rokuro Saito said this in an exclusive interview to ITAR-TASS today. President Boris Yeltsin has found an opportunity to meet him today, going beyond the framework of the official programme of the visit.

"Russia has nothing to do with the actions taken in post-war years by the former USSR. Nevertheless the Russian president saw the need to apologise to the Japanese people", Saito said. "The importance of this step lies in the fact that Boris Yeltsin's statement opens the way for the ultimate solution of this sore problem, by addressing it during the negotiations in Tokyo". Saito said that during a "brief but very important meeting with Boris Yeltsin" he expressed sincere gratitude to the Russian president on behalf of the Japanese people for apologies in connection with the POWs problem. Saito said that the government of the former USSR in the recent years had tried to deal with the problem of the "Siberian internment", which is how people in Japan describe the detention in the USSR of more than 600 thousand of officers and men of Japan's Kwantung Army, some 60 thousand of whom died there. "However, it is only the Yeltsin administration that took consistent actions in this area. "Boris Yeltsin's sincere sorrowful words as if burst the invisible psychological obstacle, difficult to surmount, in the way of the establishment of genuine confidence between the Russian and Japanese peoples, the obstacle which consisted of the problem of prisoners-of-war".

President Yeltsin's statement was highly appraised by Japanese Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa. He said today that he "welcomes the initiative of the Russian president who raised this question at the negotiations himself". "I highly appreciate this decisive statement by President Yeltsin which came as complete suprise to Japan", the prime minister said.

Commenting on President Yeltsin's apologies for the internment of Japanese POWs by the former USSR, Seizi Morimoto, press relations chief at the Japanese Foreign Ministry, told ITAR-TASS that Tokyo "deems it very important for the achievement of mutual understanding between Russia and Japan that President Yeltsin openly admitted the existence of this problem in our relations". "Alongside the territorial issue, it is the object of special concern and care of the Japanese people", he said.

Kostikov Reports on Yeltsin-Hosokawa Meeting

LD1210125293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1124 GMT 12 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents]

[Text] Tokyo, 12 Oct—At today's plenary session of their bilateral summit in Tokyo, the leaders of Russia and Japan called for complete normalization of relations between the two countries, stressing that this would be a great contribution to international stability. Vyacheslav Kostikov, the Russian Federation president's press secretary, said this in an exclusive interview with ITAR-TASS.

Commenting on the results of the meeting, he said that at the plenary session, which was attended by members of the two countries' delegations, Boris Yeltsin spoke about the situation in Russia. He stressed that the democratic reforms in the country are continuing. The fact that parliamentary elections will be held in December is proof of this. Boris Yeltsin invited Japan, as a member of the G-7 group, to send observers to check that the elections are held in a democratic manner.

The Russian leader explained to Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa the nature and significance of the events that took place in Moscow, describing them as "a kind of political earthquake." Boris Yeltsin drew an analogy between the tragic events in Moscow and the stormy events that occurred in Tokyo in 1960, when the Japanese capital was shaken by massive unrest. The Russian leader recalled that the Japanese Government was forced to use force at that time, and the international community understood the need for it.

The president stressed that the latest "political earthquake" affected only Moscow. All other parts of Russia are quiet. The country reacted with great understanding to what happened.

The Japanese prime minister said he highly evaluated the present visit and welcomed the fact that the insurrection against democracy was quickly put down with the minimum use of force. Expressing condolences over the casualties, he at the same time stressed his invariable support for the reforms being carried out in Russia. In this connection the prime minister said there should be partnership between the two countries, based on the shared views and values of world civilization. The Japanese side regards Boris Yeltsin's visit as a turning point in Russo-Japanese relations, he said.

Referring to the principal aim of his visit to Tokyo, the president spoke of the need to dismantle psychological barriers between the peoples of the two countries. In this connection Boris Yeltsin noted the special role Japan plays in Russia's policy toward the Asian-Pacific region.

In this context the president once again assured the Japanese side that, acting on the basis of legality and justice, Russia, as the successor-in-law to the USSR, would honor all its undertakings, taking into account the entire range of existing documents. The Japanese side, Vyacheslav Kostikov said, confirmed its wish to give whatever aid it could to Russia.

The question of Japanese prisoners of war, many of whom died in Siberian camps after 1945, was also raised during the talks. Boris Yeltsin apologized to Japan on behalf of the country's leadership and the Russian people. According to Vyacheslav Kostikov, the Japanese side was profoundly touched by this declaration. Prime Minister Hosokawa highly praised the sincerity of the move, noting that it would have a huge impact on public opinion in the country and promote moral reconciliation between the peoples of Russia and Japan.

Hokosawa Accepts Invitation To Visit

LD1210133593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1311 GMT 12 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent]

[Text] Tokyo, 12 Oct—President Boris Yeltsin has invited Japanese Prime Minister Morihiro Hokosawa to make an official visit to Russia with the aim of speeding up the process of concluding a bilateral peace treaty. The head of the Japanese Government has gratefully accepted the offer.

The program and the dates of the Moscow summit are to be agreed through diplomatic channels.

Yeltsin Says Talks 'Going Well'

LD1210162993 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1400 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] Despite the preponderance of official meetings and talks in Tokyo, Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin found time to meet residents of the Japanese capital. Talking to them on the street, outside the framework of his official program, the president told them that the talks were going well. There have already been meetings with the emperor. Talks are being held with the prime minister. There are going to be meetings with business circles. Everything is going well, the president stressed.

Yeltsin Says 'Sins on Both Sides' in WWII

LD1210175693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1453 GMT 12 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents]

[Text] Tokyo October 12 TASS - President Boris Yeltsin said both Russia and Japan have acted in the wrong way in the history of bilateral relations, but called to refrain from counting who had done more wrong.

"The history of bilateral relations cannot be rewritten and one should proceed from the fact that there were sins on both sides. But to count their balance is an unworthy business", Yeltsin said during a meeting with Japanese Emperor Akihito on Tuesday [12 October].

Still the Russian president admitted that Japanese WW2 POWs had faced "severe injustice" in the former Soviet Union and said that "we shall always remember those Japanese who were imprisoned on the territory of Russia".

Yeltsin expressed hope that Russian-Japanese relations have good prospects as their essence always was in an "amicable and genuine interest of both peoples to each other".

"Our desire to build relations with Japan on the basis of law and justice remains unchaned", he stressed, adding that the two countries are sure to become "an important factor of stability, cooperation and prosperity in Asia and in the whole world".

Emperor Akihito expressed hope that the first official visit of the Russian president to Japan will give "an historic impact to the establishment of genuine relations of friendship" between the two countries. He added that the whole of the Japanese people have such hopes despite "certain unhappy events of the past".

The emperor supported the reforms of President Yeltsin saying that the transformations resulted in major changes not only in Russia, but in the whole world. "I welcome the step which the international community made from contrapposition to cooperation", the emperor said.

Gaydar, Japanese Minister Discuss Foreign Aid

LD1210193393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1522 GMT 12 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents]

[Text] Tokyo October 12 TASS - Problems in payments of the Russian foreign debt impede the development of Russian-Japanese economic relations, Russian First Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar and Japanese Foreign Trade and Industry Minister Hiroshi Kumagai agreed on Tuesday.

However, the Japanese minister said he intends to abide by the course of support to Russian market reforms.

Gaydar thanked Japan for the assistance it had already rendered and invited Japanese businessmen to help develop oil and gas fields on the shelf of the Sakhalin Island and the oil and gas industry in eastern Siberia.

The possibility of resuming talks on developing timber resources of Siberia was also discussed.

Gaydar Says Summit 'Constructive'

LD1210131493 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] The signing of more than 10 Russian-Japanese documents took place in Tokyo. They agree on the course of the continuing visit of Russian President Boris Yeltsin and include an intergovernment agreement on space cooperation and memorandums on intergovernment consultations and on measures to develop cooperation in the sphere of search and rescue at sea. Also signed were exchange letters on mutual establishment of general consulates in Russia and Japan. Other documents signed include a statement on nonproliferation of mass destruction weapons and a joint statement on Cambodia.

The signing of the four main documents, which include declarations on Russian-Japanese relations and on prospects for trade, economic, and scientific-technical cooperation, will take place tomorrow.

In general, as Yegor Gaydar, first deputy prime minister of the Russian Government, told RIA, the Russian-Japanese summit is proceeding in a constructive manner.

Yeltsin Sees Tokyo Visit as Start of New Relations

LD1210211893 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 12 Oct 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Excerpts] This morning the official part of the program of Boris Yeltsin's visit to Japan started at the residence for honorary guests—the Akasaka Palace. [passage omitted]

At a meeting with businessmen Boris Yeltsin delivered a major speech.

[Begin Yeltsin recording, speaking from the rostrum at a meeting with Japanese businessmen]

I regard my first visit to Tokyo as a distinctive start of new Russo-Japanese relations. I am convinced that the two great states—Russia and Japan—will not fail to overcome mutual alienation. This is in the interests of our citizens, peoples, and the entire mankind. [end recording] [passage omitted]

18 Documents To Be Signed

LD1210215793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1919 GMT 12 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents]

[Text] Tokyo October 12 TASS—Problems of bilateral relations, including the territorial issue, were discussed on Tuesday [12 October] at the first round of talks in Tokyo by Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Prime Minister of Japan Morihiro Hosokawa.

Estimating the results of these discussions, Nikolay Solovyov, director of the Russian Foreign Ministry Department for the Asian-Pacific Region, told TASS that the present meeting is characterized by quite a new style and the aspiration of both sides to listen to each other and reach an understanding.

In the course of the talks it was noted that during this visit the two delegations discussed a number of economic agreements, including a project of developing wood resources in Siberia and the far east, oil and gas on the shelf of Sakhalin Island, the problem of paying off the debt of the former Soviet Union, as well as the establishment of the Transsiberian optical-fiber communication line.

It was stated that the Russian president's visit will be marked by the signing of 18 documents, including the Tokyo Declaration on Russo-Japanese Relations and the Declaration on Prospects for Trade, Economic, Scientific and Technical Relations between the Russian Federation and Japan.

The Japanese side, as it was stated at a briefing at the Japanese Foreign Ministry, confirmed its position on the territorial problem between the two countries. Hosokawa stressed that the 1956 Soviet- Japanese joint declaration which envisages, in particular, handing over a part of Southern Kuril Islands to Japan after concluding a peace treaty, "certainly is a document recognized by the world community". It is an "objective fact", the prime minister noted, that a group of islands of the southern part of the Kuril chain belongs to Japan.

In reply to this statement, President Boris Yeltsin confirmed that Russia adheres to diplomatic agreements concluded by the former USSR. But the implementation of terms of the 1956 declaration depends first of all on the progress which will be reached in the development of relations between the two countries. The Russian side, Yeltsin stressed, intends to accomplish the demilitarization of the disputable territories which is already under way.

In the course of the first round of the talks the sides came to an agreement on holding regular consultations between foreign ministers of Russia and Japan twice a year, agreed to carry out joint inspections on control over radioactive pollution of the water environment.

President Boris Yeltsin invited the head of the Japanese Government to pay an official visit to Moscow. Hosokawa accepted this invitation.

Package of Documents Signed

LD1310040293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0319 GMT 13 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 13 Oct—The signing of a package of joint Russo-Japanese documents took place today in Tokyo's "Akasaka" palace. Bilateral accords reached as a result of the summit talks held during the official visit to by the Russian president are reflected in the following 18 documents:

The Tokyo declaration on the Russo-Japanese relations.

The Declaration on the prospects for trade, economic, scientificm and technical relations between the Russian Federation and Japan.

The Agreement between the Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of Japan on preventing incidents at sea outside their territorial waters and airspace above them.

The agreement between the Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of Japan on cooperation in the sphere of research and use of space for peaceful purposes.

An agreement between the Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of Japan on cooperation to coordinate actions in eliminating nuclear weapons due to be reduced in the Russian Federation and in setting up a committee on cooperation with this aim.

Exchange of letters on mutual setting up of general consulates in the Russian Federation and in Japan.

Exchange of letters on mutual increase of the quota on accredited journalists to 75 people.

A protocol on introducing secondary amendments in the treaty on setting up a commission on coordination.

A memorandum on measures aimed at accelerating reforms in Russia.

A memorandum on emergency aid to the Russian Federation.

A memorandum on Russian-Japanese intergovernmental consultations.

A memorandum on developing a more effective cooperation in nuclear energy safety.

A memorandum on measures to develop a more effective and successful cooperation in search and rescue at sea.

A memorandum on measures to enable citizens of the Russian Federation and Japan to freely visit each other's countries.

A joint Russian-Japanese statement on non-proliferation of mass destruction weapons and development of transparency in conventional weapons.

A joint statement on the question of preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons on the Korean peninsula.

A joint statement on Cambodia.

Yeltsin, Hosokawa Sign 'Tokyo Declaration'

LD1310051193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0337 GMT 13 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent]

[Text] Tokyo, 13 Oct—The striving of Russia and Japan to fully normalize bilateral relations and conclude a peace treaty between the two countries as a way of "overcoming the painful legacy of the past," including a solution to the territorial issue, is stated in "the Tokyo declaration on the Russo-Japanese relations" signed today by Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Japanese Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa.

The sides agreed to continue talks on these issues "proceeding from historical and legal facts and on the basis of documents elaborated as a result of accord reached between the two countries and also on the principles of lawfulness and justice." Russia officially confirmed that as a legal successor of the former USSR, it would continue to honor in bilateral relations international accords that had been reached between the Soviet Union and Japan.

The Tokyo declaration, in particular, stresses the significance of the successful implementation of reforms in Russia. "The president of the Russian Federation and the prime minister of Japan, the document says, are unanimous in their views that democratic and economic reform in Russia are of extreme significance not only for the peoples of this country but also for the entire world and that they are an indispensable factor in strengthening stability in the world."

The invariable support of the policy of the Russian president for political and economic reforms in the country, the declaration notes, was also expressed in a message from the Big Seven, conveyed to Boris Yeltsin by the Japanese prime minister. The heads of the leading Western countries also express the hope in their message that "as a result of free and just elections to a new parliament, a truly democratic society will be born, which will reflect the will of the people, and that reforms will continue."

The Russian president and the Japanese prime minister noted that it was necessary to widen the political dialogue through "regular mutual visits at the level of high ranking officials, foreign ministers and their deputies." During the bilateral summit the sides also agreed "to improve mutual trips" by the Japanese and people from South Kurils, carried out on the basis of agreements between the two countries.

An important point in the Tokyo declaration is the recognition of such an important problem in ensuring safety around the world as the development of cooperation in dismantling nuclear weapons and storing radioactive materials. Russia and Japan will carry out close mutual consultations along "the lines of a joint Russian-Japanese working group" on matters of control on the influence of radioactive waste dumped in the sea on the environment.

Boris Yeltsin and Morihito Hosokawa have agreed that "the Asian-Pacific ocean region has an opprtunity for a dynamic development based on principles of freedom and openness, which it can demonstrate to the world of the 21th Century." In connection with this, the declaration expresses Russia's intention to actively participate in developing political and economic links between the states of the Asian-Pacific ocean region. "A complete normalization of relations between the Russian Federation and Japan, both playing an important role in the region" is very important.

In the adopted document, Russia and Japan favor the activization "of the input of both countries in UN efforts aimed at settling global and regional problems, and therefore undertaking joint efforts for the further increase of the authority" of this international forum.

Details of Economic Declaration

LD1310061593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0340 GMT 13 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent]

[Text] Tokyo, 13 Oct—The joint Russo-Japanese "Declaration on the prospects for trade, economic, scientific, and technical relations between the Russian Federation and Japan" opens by recognizing the key significance of the successful implementation of reforms in the Russian Federation. The document, which identifies 11 prioritized spheres of bilateral business cooperation, was signed in Tokyo today by Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Japanese Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa.

The declaration, which sums up the serious discussion held during the two-day summit talks, says directly that a successful transfer to a market-based economy in Russia is "an important factor in ensuring that the world community moves from the Cold War structures over to a new world order."

The Russian and Japanese Governments "share an understanding that the experience gained by Japan during the post-war economic development may prove useful in helping Russia to carry out the transfer to a market-based economy. The Japanese Government affirms its readiness to share with Russia its experience in such spheres as macro-economic policy, reforms of financial, credit, and monetary systems, industrial structures and also the establishment of small and medium businesses and others."

There are 11 very practicable spheres of cooperation: fuel and power engineering, ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, forestry, wood working, cellulose and paper, as well as a number of other industries; transport and communications; banking system; safety of nuclear stations; conversion; peaceful use of space; nature preservation; agriculture and fisheries; health care and medicine; and employment training.

It has been especially underlined that it is necessary to establish solid bilateral contacts within the framework of the international economic system, in particular, in various international financial institutes to which both Russia and Japan belong. The Government of Japan has also undertaken to provide the necessary assistance in Russia's participation or joining of various economic bodies, to which it does not now belong.

At the same time, the sides "are unanimous that, bearing in mind the realities existing in bilateral trade and economic relations, it is important to ensure appropriate conditions for their normal development." They also recognize the importance of cooperation in a very wide exchange of economic information, corresponding to the interests of both countries.

The declaration also covers cooperation in fundamental and applied research and in the preservation and rational exploitation of biological resources of the north-western part of the Pacific ocean and reflects the intention of both sides to promote economic and other exchanges between regions of the two countries.

The distinctive trait of the declaration is its focus on balanced wide-ranging relations between the two countries, which is evident in particular from an agreement stipulated in it, by the two governments to reaffirm this document if necessary by appropriate documents, which would reflect further development of Russian-Japanese business links.

'Final Round' of Talks Ends 13 Oct in Tokyo

LD1310034293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0240 GMT 13 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent]

[Text] Tokyo, 13 Oct—The second and final round of the Russo-Japanese summit talks, which had been taking place within the framework of Boris Yeltsin's official visit to Japan, took place today in the capital's "Akasaka" palace.

As was expected, the talks centered around international problems including the situation in the Asian Pacific region. Boris Yeltsin and Morihiro Hosokawa discussed, inter alia, the problems of controlling the proliferation of armaments, the situation on the Korean peninsula and in Cambodia.

The leaders of the two leading powers of the Asian Pacific region expressed concern about the fact that the nuclear threat might emerge from North Korea which, as the world community suspected, had been stepping up the militarization of its nuclear industry, and arrived at a common opinion that it is necessary for the DPRK to remain a member of the treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

The sides welcomed the political settlement in Cambodia, which was largely due to international efforts, including those by Japan and Russia. At the same time, Boris Yeltsin and Morihiro Hosokawa recognized the importance for Cambodia to continue its peaceful development in which the restoration of the economy, dislocated during the civil war, should be a priority, and expressed readiness to contribute actively to the revival of Cambodia.

The second round of talks completed the program of the bilateral meetings in Tokyo. The signing of a package of 18 documents on the results of the talks is expected today, followed by a joint news conference by the Russian and Japanese leaders.

Yeltsin Says Visit 'Very Successful'

LD1310055093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0509 GMT 13 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent]

[Text] Tokyo, 13 Oct—Russian President Boris Yeltsin described the visit to Tokyo, which is ending today, as "very successful." Speaking at a joint news conference, he stressed that full-scale summit talks had been held between Russia and Japan for the first time.

Having recalled that 18 Russo-Japanese documents were signed this morning, Yeltsin said that the delegations of the two countries had managed to constructively discuss all issues existing between the two countries. The president also said that he had invited the Japanese prime minister to pay on official visit to Russia.

For his part, the head of the Japanese cabinet of ministers expressed gratitude for the invitation and stressed that the leaders of the two countries should continue the dialogue. In his opinion, the talks that ended in Tokyo have created a basis for progress in Russo-Japanese relations.

Yeltsin Discusses Territorial Issue at News Conference

LD1310070193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0637 GMT 13 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent]

[Text] Tokyo, 13 Oct—The Russian president said today that a definitive solution to the territorial issue in relations with Japan could only be reached on the basis of developing bilateral relations and bringing the two peoples closer together.

At a news conference in Tokyo today, he said that it was at present impossible to resolve this issue in isolation from other problems. At the same time, the president said, Russia does not renounce its obligations as legal successor to the former USSR, including the joint Soviet-Japanese declaration of 1956. This declaration envisages that the South Kuril islands of Shikotan and Habomai are to be handed over to Japan after a peace treaty is signed.

Yeltsin Announces Withdrawal of Troops From Kurils

LD1310071093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0650 GMT 13 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent]

[Text] Tokyo, 13 Oct—All military units deployed in South Kurils will be withdrawn from the islands, except for border troops, in keeping with the plan for a five-stage settlement of the territorial problem in relations with Japan. This was stated by Russian President Boris Yeltsin, replying to an ITAR-TASS correspondent's question at a news conference held jointly with the Japanese Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa, held today following the completion of the Russian-Japanese summit talks.

"We have already cut the number of units stationed in South Kurils by one regiment, and we are going to continue cutting our armed forces there," Boris Yeltsin said. "The only troops that will not be affected by this are border troops, which have to stay on the islands anyway—after all, a border is a border."

The Russian president stressed that Moscow is complying strictly with the five-stage plan for the settlement of the territorial issue announced by the president. "We have officially acknowledged the existence of the territorial problem in Russian-Japanese relations, we have declared the South Kurils a free economic zone, and exchanges between residents of the islands and Japan are already conducted without visas", Boris Yeltsin noted.

Working Group Established To Draw Up Peace Treaty

LD1310072293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0700 GMT 13 Oct 93

[By special ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Tokyo, 13 Oct—President Boris Yeltsin said today that Russia and Japan have agreed to set up a working group to draw up a peace treaty and also to set up a system of regular top level contacts between the two countries.

Addressing a news conference in Tokyo today held jointly with the Japanese prime minister, Boris Yeltsin stressed that in the course of such periodic business meetings the leaders of both countries "will monitor" the results of the activities to draw up a peace treaty. No such document has been concluded between Moscow and Tokyo since the end of World War II.

Japanese Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa told the news conference that top level contacts will also be augmented by regular consultations between the foreign ministers of both countries.

Yeltsin, Hosokawa Comment on Relations

LD1310073893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0716 GMT 13 Oct 93

[Text] Tokyo October 13 TASS—The Tokyo declaration on Russian-Japanese relations, signed by Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Japanese Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa, reflects Russia's and Japan's desire to fully normalise bilateral relations and to conclude a peace treaty between the two countries by "overcoming the hard heritage of the past", including the solution of the territorial issue.

The sides agreed to continue talks on these issues, "guided by historical and legal facts and on the basis of documents drafted through agreement between the two countries as well as principles of legality and justice".

Russia formally confirmed that as a successor of the former USSR, it will continue to apply international understandings between the Soviet Union and Japan in bilateral relations.

The Tokyo declaration makes a special accent on the importance of a successful implementation of reforms in Russia. "The president of the Russian Federation and the prime minister of Japan," the document runs, "are unanimous in the opinion that the democratic changes and the economic reform in Russia are of great importance both for the peoples of this country and for the entire world and are an inseparable fact in strengthening international stability".

The declaration notes that a message by the G-7 leaders handed over to Yeltsin by the Japanese premier expresses the invariable support for the policy on political and economic changes in the country, pursued by the Russian president.

The leaders of Western industrialised nations also express hope in the message that "as a result of free and just elections to a new parliament, a truly democratic society will be born. It will reflect the will of people, and reforms will be given an additional boost".

The Russian president and the Japanese premier pointed to the need for broadening the political dialogue through "regular and mutual visits at the top level as well as of foreign ministers and their deputies".

At the summit, the sides also agreed "to improve the implementation of reciprocal trips" by Japanese and South Kuril residents, based on understandings between the two countries.

An important aspect of the Tokyo declaration is that it reflects such a significant problem of ensuring security all over the world as the development of cooperation in dismantling nuclear weapons and storing nuclear materials.

Russia and Japan will conduct close mutual consultations "through the joint Russian-Japanese working group" on monitoring the influence of the dumping of radioactive waste into sea on environment.

Yeltsin and Hosokawa agreed that there are "possibilities for dynamic development which the Asia-Pacific region can demonstrate in the world of the 21st century on the basis of principles of freedom and openness".

In this connection, the declaration expresses Russia's intention to make an active contribution to the development of political and economic relations of Asia-Pacific states. For this purpose, "full normalisation of relations between the Russian Federation and Japan, which play a significant role in the region", is of great importance.

The declaration says that Russia and Japan advocate a more active "contribution of the two countries to U.N. efforts aimed at settling global and regional problems and at taking, thereby, joint efforts to raise further the prestige" of that international forum.

Yeltsin Ends Visit

LD1310080193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0744 GMT 13 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent]

[Text] Tokyo, 13 Oct—Having completed his first official visit to Japan, Russian President Boris Yeltsin today left Tokyo and flew to Moscow.

During his three-day [as received] stay in Japan, the Russian leader met with Japanese Emperor Akihito and held three rounds of negotiations with Prime Minister Morihiro Hokosawa. As a result of the Tokyo visit, 18 Russian-Japanese documents were signed, including two declarations on political and economic matters.

Speaking at a joint news conference with the head of the Japanese Government, Boris Yeltsin expressed satisfaction with the results of the first top-level talks between the two countries.

Notes Achievements

LD1310122393 Moscow ITAR-TASS International Service in Russian 0844 GMT 13 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent; Moscow ITAR-TASS International Service in Russian at 0938 GMT on 13 October transmits a service message killing paragraph two of this item]

[Text] Tokyo 13 Oct TASS—The main achievement of the Russian-Japanese summit, according to Russian President Boris Yeltsin, is that "we have tried for the first time in the past few decades to look at each other without any prejudice," and have found in ourselves "the strength and courage to imbue our minds with respect for the other partner" in the talks. Yeltsin said this during a luncheon here hosted by Japanese Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa in honor of his distinguished Russian guest.

"The final settling of issues that are still outstanding in our bilateral relations and bringing those relations to a level of genuine partnership is a common priority for Russia and Japan," the president said.

"We are ready to conduct our talks dynamically and constructively on the basis of the principles of legality and justice. I am sure that by adhering to them, we will be able to find solutions to all our problems, including the most difficult ones," the president stated.

Having highly assessed the summit dialogue, the Russian president called special attention to the fact that "mutual understanding is growing between us in spite of some differing approaches". A moment has arrived in Russian-Japanese bilateral relations when the politicians of the two countries "are able to discharge their direct duty—to express the will of our peoples," which "have always yearned for mutually advantageous cooperation, for intellectual exchanges," Yeltsin stressed.

In his statement, Prime Minister Hosokawa also expressed the conviction that relations between Russia and Japan, the two countries that are able to exert a serious influence on international policy, "will develop to an extent when it will be possible to regard them as a partnership based on common values."

The head of the Japanese cabinet acclaimed as a brave and resolute step the Russian president's apologies for the inhuman postwar treatment of Japanese war prisoners in the former USSR, and his statement that Russia is eager to settle the territorial issue. "The time is coming when it will be necessary to turn a new page in the history of Russian-Japanese relations in order to normalize them completely," Hosokawa stressed.

Holds News Conference

LD1310115293 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0900 GMT 13 Oct 93

[Report by announcer Aleksandr Ilyichev and correspondents Andrey Koloshin and Igor Vykhukholev, with portions by President Boris Yeltsin recorded; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Ilyichev] The first official visit by a Russian president to Japan is over. ITAR-TASS has reported that Boris Yeltsin flew out of Tokyo for Moscow today. Here are details of the outcome of the visit from our correspondents in Japan.

[Koloshin] Russian President Boris Yeltsin's visit to Japan ended on an optimistic note. Of course, nobody was expecting a dramatic breakthrough in our relations. However, it does seem that we have succeeded in getting back on track of the normal process of talks. In any event, one gets the impression that the sides are now more inclined than previously to take account of the other's position.

[Vykhukholev] The second and final round of summit talks was held in the morning. Whereas yesterday the leaders of Russia and Japan discussed bilateral relations in detail, today international problems were the focus of attention, specifically the concern of both countries caused by the potential nuclear danger posed by North Korea. Other problems relating to the Asia-Pacific region were also discussed.

The culmination of the day was the signing of 18 documents concerning cooperation in the most diverse fields, including political and economic declarations. Both declarations stress the importance of the reforms being implemented in Russia for the whole world and put on record Japan's support for these reforms.

In the economic field, eleven of the most promising fields for practical cooperation are named. One is struck by the breadth of cooperation. In the political sphere, the clause stating that Russia, as the legal successor of the USSR, will continue in its bilateral relations to apply the international accords between the USSR and Japan attracts attention in particular. This will help to rebuild the basis for resolving the most complex bilateral problems, including the territorial problem.

At the same time, the very fact of the division of the declarations into a political and an economic declaration demonstrates that Japan has moved a little away from the strict linkage between the economy and politics that was a considerable impediment to the development of relations between us in the past.

[Koloshin] At a joint news conference both leaders highlighted the main content of the talks, stressing that they open up a new page in bilateral relations. Russia and Japan are now united in their common values of liberty, democracy, the supremacy of the law, and respect for human rights. It is precisely this which has been taken as a basis in the resolution of all problems that arise.

The most important aspect was the spirit of friendship that characterized all the meetings. It is no coincidence that the political declaration includes the wording true partnership of the two countries. Indeed, the Japanese side has demonstrated a sincere readiness to assist in the quickest possible stabilization of Russia.

On that topic, Boris Yeltsin said in his address, in part:

[Begin Yeltsin recording] Our first meeting with Mr. Hosokawa began with a discussion of the recent tragic events in Moscow. I understand the prime minister. These events trouble not only him, but also alarm Japanese society and the Japanese people. Unfortunately, sometimes a state must use force, but it was not our choice. We were compelled to resort to force. We were compelled to use it to escape frightening mass terror and bloodshed and to avoid losing another one million people in Russia, as happened under totalitarianism. We lament the casualties and mourn all those who died in the past days. It was an agonizing decision for us. In all of our policies and actions we opposed violence, and when we exhibited firmness, the people of Russia understood us. We were also supported around the world. We are grateful to the Government of Japan for its support during our difficult time. [end recording]

[Koloshin] The Ostankino Television Company was given the right to ask the first question by Russian journalists, concerning Yeltsin's assessment of the outcome of the visit.

[Begin Yeltsin recording] These are the first full-scale summit talks between Japan and Russia. I believe that we have touched upon and discussed all the issues that there were between us and the international aspect, as well. I am personally satisfied and believe that these talks and the visit have been a complete success. [end recording]

[Koloshin] During the news conference the conversation kept returning to the situation in Russia. The Western journalists were asking about reports in today's newspapers referring to a presidential aide saying that Boris Yeltsin might postpone the parliamentary elections planned for December and combine them with the presidential elections. This is the head of state's reply:

[Begin Yeltsin recording] I categorically deny this. I do not retain advisers of this kind. If you tell me his surname he will no longer have a job. The elections will be on 12 December for the Federal Assembly—for the State Duma and the Federal Assembly. The presidential elections will be on 12 June 1994. This has been determined. [end recording]

Kozyrev Discusses Russian, Japanese Positions

LD1310105793 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 13 Oct 93

[Text] The discussion of international issues at the Russo-Japanese summit on 13 October revealed a closeness of approaches and a virtual coincidence of the positions of both sides on all international problems. This was stated by Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev. According to him, this proves yet again the absurdity of Russo-Japanese relations being locked over the so- called territorial problem. Andrey Kozyrev emphasized in a RIA interview that Russia and Japan are very powerful states who have coinciding positions on many issues concerning the consolidation of security in the Asiatic-Pacific region.

Paper Views Progress of Yeltsin Tokyo Visit

PM1310083993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Oct 93 First Edition pp 1,3

[Sergey Agafonov and Vasiliy Kononenko report: "Boris Yeltsin Avoids Talking About Kurils, Deplores Fate of Japanese Prisoners, and Urges Business Circles To Cooperate"]

[Text] Tokyo—The Russian president's official visit to Japan, which has already been postponed twice, began late on Monday evening when Yeltsin's aircraft landed at Tokyo's Haneda Airport. On board were the Russian leader and his wife, Vice Premier Gaydar, and Foreign Minister Kozyrev.

The president descended the gangway weary but in a good mood and greeted the numerous press representatives gathered there. When asked about the mood in which he had left Moscow he replied cheerily: "In light-hearted mood!" This caused some confusion among reporters, but Yeltsin did not answer other questions, amicably threatening the crowd with his finger and uttering his favorite phrase: "Don't pressure the president."

The meeting with the eminent visitor was admittedly preceded by a slight shock caused by Yeltsin's statements before leaving Vnukovo: The president defined the main purpose of his trip as to organize economic contacts with Japan and voiced the hope that the Japanese side would not spoil the visit with talk of the territorial issue. People in Tokyo were not prepared for that kind of beginning, and everyone drew attention to the fact that Hata, Japanese vice premier and foreign minister, who met Yeltsin, sat in the president's Zil en route from the airport to the Akasaka residence in order to obtain detailed explanations regarding his remarks in Moscow. The Japanese side later said that it had not so far proved possible to obtain total clarity on this matter.

In this connection it is worthy of note that the president's priorities during his Japanese trip are very different from those of the Japanese. The mass media here report that the items on the Japanese list in order of importance are as follows: the territorial issue, the problem of Japanese POW's in Siberia, the prospects for democratic reforms and human rights in Russia in connection with the recent tragic events in Moscow, and only then, in last place, talk about firm aspects of bilateral relations, including trade and economic relations. As far as we know, the Russian scenario does not include many of the above topics at all, and misgivings were voiced in Tokyo before the talks started that the "don't pressure the president" formula might be the epigraph of the summit-level discussions.

Early Tuesday morning saw the start of President Boris Yeltsin's official program.

The most curious and notable things were heard from both sides on the very first day. The Russian president agreed to something that the Japanese side has been trying to obtain from its northern neighbor for a very long time, hitherto unsuccessfully—Yeltsin made profound apologies for the historic injustice perpetrated by the Stalinist regime against hundreds of thousands of Japanese POW's herded into Siberian camps at the end of World War II. This considerable advance on an old and extremely painful issue was seen in Tokyo not only as a major success for Japanese diplomacy but also as an important gesture of goodwill on Moscow's part.

Another factor on which people in Tokyo are focusing attention is Yeltsin's confirmation of Russia's recognition of the bilateral agreements and accords previously concluded by the USSR. The president did not expand on this, but the Japanese did so for him, immediately linking Yeltsin's statement in their commentaries with the 1956 declaration promising the return to Japan of two islands—Habomai and Shikotan—once a peace treaty is concluded. No one has taken away the Japanese side's right to interpretation, but the Russian side, as far as we know, has a somewhat broader interpretation of this subject: Russian delegation experts explained to us that inheriting treaties from the USSR does not mean that they are to be automatically implemented without the appropriate study. As regards the 1956 declaration, for instance, the Supreme Soviet Presidium adopted this document without taking the people's opinion into consideration. Current realities make that essential.

Nothing was said in detail about territorial matters on the first day of the visit, but such a discussion is inevitable although you can surmise how it will end. Your IZVESTIYA correspondents learned that the summit meeting's political declaration will feature the following wording: The grave legacy of the past, including resolving the question of ownership of the islands of Kunashir, Iturup, Habomai, and Shikotan, must be overcome in bilateral relations on the basis of historical and legal fact based on documents elaborated by the two sides and the principles of international law.

It is worth mentioning separately the atmosphere during the only event apart from the exclusively diplomatic talks—a lunch with business circles. There Yeltsin delivered a speech and made many impromptu jokes. Having described Japan as a country where the "genius virus" is particularly widespread, the president not only did not do justice to Japanese economic successes, but also criticized Japanese business circles fairly sharply, Moscow-style, for not being very active in entering the Russian market, hanging fire in carrying out their G-7 commitments to insure business deals with Russia, and for being apathetic with investment. In particular, he expressed displeasure at the delay in implementing the coal agreement and insistently urged the Japanese side to urgently tackle the Sakhalin deposits of gas and oil, which, Yeltsin said, "will go straight—by pipeline—to Japan" if the agreement is implemented. The president cited some areas of mutual cooperation that the Russian side would like to see, including utilities and communications (in particular, the laying of a transcontinental fiber optic cable), defense conversion, regional development programs, ensuring the safety of nuclear power stations, and space.

A day filled with protocol ended with a dinner at the emperor's palace. The visit ends on Wednesday.

Reasons for Visit Viewed

MK1310114593 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No. 42, 17 Oct 93 (signed to press 12 Oct) p A9

[Andrey Grachev, MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI political observer, article under the "In the World" rubric: A Visit With Too Low Expectations"]

[Text] Summits are expected to either accomplish "historic breakthroughs" or to open "new pages" in relations between states. It looks like both sides had expected that the current visit of the Russian president to Japan would become a thing of the past as soon as possible. Yeltsin has long been awaited in Japan, ever since August 1991. The Japanese perhaps hoped to unblock, with the help of a resolute Russian president, the relationship with their northern neighbor which was hopelessly mired in the Kuril Islands problem. Moreover, the then-policy of Boris Yeltsin, who put forward a plan to solve it stage by stage, gave them ground for hope.

However, the Russian president inherited from the Union cabinet together with the Kremlin the entire complexity of the post-war Russian-Japanese relationship, including the realization of the fact that resolving the territorial dispute with Japan constitutes a domestic political problem more than a foreign political problem. The situation at home, which was gradually heating up, finally deprived him of freedom of action.

As a result, preparations for the already announced visit skidded. The twice postponed visit loomed like a grim cloud over the already none-too-cloudless relations between the two countries and turned into yet another Russian-Japanese problem.

Last year, when the Russian side suddenly called off the visit, the semiofficial reason was Japan's "intransigence" on the territorial question. As Yeltsin put it then, of his 14 variants to resolving the problem, he opted for the 15th and did not go. This past spring his visit was announced as spontaneously as it was canceled. The new explanation went: "It is the wrong time to travel abroad; internal problems in Russia are too acute." At that time, the Japanese, although hurt, nodded their understanding. Today they again wonder: Is the curfew in the capital and the still smoking gunpowder from the Moscow carnage a more favorable backdrop for a visit? One formal explanation is that once he gave his word, he must keep it. This explanation is not very convincing because in Tokyo they were really waiting for what had been promised for more than a year. Another explanation is closer to the truth: It was necessary for Yeltsin to demonstrate to Russia and the world that he is a president free to travel, meaning that he has gotten so much on top of the situation in the country that he can leave it without fearing for his fate.

Thus traveling abroad becomes yet another way to confirm the presence of a "strong power" in the country. Is this an understandable argument from the point of view of the interests of the president and his team? From the point of view of the Russian-Japanese relations? This is a bit of a problem.

Doubts on the faces of Japanese politicians run the gamut: from the hostile grumbling of the opposition, which is unhappy because all that the Japanese Liberal Democratic Party got from Russia during its rule was refusals, whereas the good thing, the visit, came as a windfall to the fledgling coalition government. To visible confusion in official circles where they know perfectly well that given the present situation, they cannot hope for any progress in solving the dispute over the islands. Besides, the Japanese Government cannot be at all grateful to the Russian president for having made his first foreign visit after the dissolution and cruel storming of his own parliament precisely to Japan. This gives his hosts—members and the current coordinators of the G-7 club—the unrewarding task: while reiterating the West's solidarity, they must remind the Russian president that entry into this noble assembly is granted only to those who wear democratic garb.

Still, paradoxically, it is the low hopes linked with Yeltsin's long-awaited visit to Japan that protect him against a flop. More than that, it enables both sides, without losing face, to slip from the trap where all Soviet-Japanese talks over the notorious dispute ended until recently.

The Russian president, to all appearances, assumes that he has more than enough arguments to completely evade discussion of this question. He confirmed this upon landing in Japan. He does not seem obviously troubled by the fact that this reverts the Russian position to the Brezhnev or even pre-Khrushchev times. At the same time, the Japanese premier has the rare opportunity to make excuses to the country's public opinion and the grumbling opposition for having been unable to "squeeze" any positive change in the territorial issue out of the Russian president burdened with the task of saving Russian reforms. Besides, Premier Hosokawa is at last getting an excuse to sever the dogmatic linkage between politics and economics in Japan's position toward Russia and to give the green light to programs in support of the Russian economy. Which he did not fail to do having signed an economic declaration with Yeltsin.

The main, albeit modest, result is that both sides have at last cleared the artificial barrier of the state visit and restored the dialogue interrupted two and a half years ago.

Number of Russians Against Returning Kurils Increases

MK1310085593 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 13 Oct 93 p 2

[Report on poll conducted by the "Mneniye" polling service under the "Round the Clock Non-Stop" rubric: "Russians Have Grown Accustomed to the Kurils"]

[Text] A telephone survey was conducted on 6-8 October. The selection of respondents is representative of the population's gender, age, education level, and main occupations.

Japan insists that the "Northern Territories" be returned to it. Do you think the islands should be returned to Japan or can they not be returned?

	Oct '93	Jun '93	Sep '93
Should be returned	9.8	12.6	11.8
Cannot be returned	73.2	69.2	65.1
Do not know	17.0	18.2	23.1

Do you think our state will eventually finally return these islands to Japan, or will it never return them?

It will	15.9
Never	37.4
Do not know	36.8
Other	9.9

[Signed] (C) "Mneniye" Service, 1993. Director Gr. Pashkov

Japanese Reportage on Visit Published

WA1310123593

For Japanese reportage on President Boris Yeltsin's visit to Japan, including texts of speeches and declarations, please see the Japan section of the 12 October 1993 issue of the East Asia DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Agreement on 'Legal Status' of Troops in Georgia

LD1110223693 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1930 GMT 11 Oct 93

[Text] An agreement on the legal status of the Russian troops in Georgia, which was signed several days ago, is in fact eight different documents. They regulate all aspects of the daily life of our military in Georgia, starting with the joint use of proving grounds, ports and airfields, and finishing with the work of the military postal service. Colonel General Mikhail Kolesnikov, chief of the general staff of the Russian Federation Armed Forces, gives a brief commentary on the issue in our bulletin:

[Begin Kolesnikov recording] The set of documents signed by my colleague and myself on behalf of our Defense Ministries and on behalf of our governments should not be regarded as finalized, once and for all, in some rigid legal forms. We have simply signed the documents, which provide a good basis for the development of our relations with Georgia, including those in the line of Defense Ministries. There is still no strict decision as to how large the group of Russian troops in Georgia will be, and how long they will stay there. This is an ongoing process, a dynamic process. I do not exclude the fact that different versions may exist. The grouping of Russian troops on the territory of Georgia began a long time ago. By now it has been fairly reduced, in fact today in Georgia we have three sufficiently large garrisons. There is a garrison in Tbilisi, a garrison in Batumi, and a garrison in Akhalkalaki. [end recording]

The dangerous situation surrounding the Russian servicemen in Georgia and around their military facilities is a matter of great concern to the Russian servicemen in Georgia. In the past one to two years alone the number of attacks on servicemen and military facilities has reached several dozen. That is why a statement by General Avtandil Tskitishvili, the Georgian colleague of our chief of the general staff, who signed the Russian-Georgian documents on behalf of Georgia, was rather promising:

[Begin Tskitishvili recording] A document never allows one thing to be excluded or another thing to be done. Obviously, self-consciousness should be tuned in this direction. I hate to assure you that there is such a tendency, and already various manifestations have unfortunately taken place against the Russian Army in Georgia. They should be eliminated, and they will be eliminated. [end recording]

Officers Comment on Agreement

LD1210141793 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1012 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Interview with Colonel General Mikhail Kolesnikov, Russian Armed Forces chief of the general staff; and Avtandil Tskitishvili, Georgian Defense Ministry chief of staff, by unidentified announcer; place and date not given; from the "Radio Slavyanka" broadcast of the Russian Defense Ministry—live or recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] An agreement on the legal status of Russian troops on Georgian territory was signed several days ago by Colonel General [Col Gen] Mikhail Kolesnikov, chief of the general staff of the Russian Armed Forces, and his Georgian counterpart Avtandil Tskitishvili [Georgian Defense Ministry chief of staff]. The agreement comprises eight different documents, which regulate all aspects of everyday life of our military in Georgia—starting with the joint use of proving grounds, ports, and airfields, and finishing with the work of the military postal service. In the course of the meeting, the issue of protecting the Russian-Georgian border was also discussed—at present it is guarded only by Russian units.

However, for a more detailed account of the signing of Russian-Georgian military documents, we have on our program today Colonel General Mikhail Kolesnikov:

[Kolesnikov] The set of documents signed by my counterpart and myself on behalf of our defense ministries and our governments should not be regarded as set down once and for all in some rigid legal form. We have simply signed documents which provide a good basis for the development of our further relations with Georgia, including those through defense ministry channels. There is still no hard decision as to how long, to what day and hour, the group of Russian troops in Georgia will stay. This is an on-going process, a dynamic process. I cannot rule out any options, anything is possible. The grouping of Russian troops on the territory of Georgia was formed long ago. By now it has been substantially reduced, and, in fact, today in Georgia we have three quite large garrisons left. There is a garrison in Tbilisi, Batumi, and Akhalkalaki. The numerical strength of the Akhalkalaki and Batumi garrisons is about the size of one combined-arms large unit. The Russian group of troops in the Transcaucasus also has troops on the territory of the Republic of Armenia. There, we have a garrison in the town formerly known as Leninakan [Kumayri], and also several units stationed in Yerevan itself. They are under the command of the headquarters in Tbilisi.

[Announcer] Mikhail Petrovich, the agreement includes a clause on airspace security. Who is to provide it?

[Kolesnikov] Appropriate competent services we have on Georgian territory also cover the airspace over the Republic of Armenia, even though we currently have no Air Force units there. Actually, we have no combat aviation units in Georgia either, only several air support units to provide for the group of troops, but no more than that.

[Announcer] Here is the point of view of Georgian General Avtandil Tskitishvili.

[Begin Tskitishvili recording] The thing itself is beneficial both for the Georgian and for the Russian side. First, the ice of alienation will melt—it is already melting; this is clear. Historical ties between the two peoples have to be restored. The treaty contributes to this rapprochement—in fact, it is rapprochement between the two armies, the two nations, the two states, and the two governments. So I believe that the signing of the treaty today is an historic event, an historic fact both for the Georgian people and for the Russian side. [end recording]

[Announcer] I would like to add that while talking to our correspondent Mikhail Arkhipov, Gen Tskitishvili has singled out the issue of safety of Russian servicemen on Georgian territory. In particular, he noted that the Georgian side is currently doing everything it can to prevent any future attacks on Russian military facilities on the territory of his republic from illegal armed formations.

Commander of Russian Forces in Abkhazia Views Situation

AU1310101393 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 12 Oct 93 p 2

[Interview with General Aleksandr Alekseyevich Chindarov, commander in chief of the Russian forces in Abkhazia and deputy commander of the Russian airborne forces, by Gregor Mayer in the command office in Gudauta; date not given: "Abkhazians Back to Russia?"]

[Text] [Chindarov] As is known, Russian, formerly Soviet troops, have long been stationed in Georgia and in Abkhazia. The withdrawal of these armed forces to Russian territory is planned on principle, but it cannot be carried out within a brief period. As a result, the units serving here have become involuntary witnesses of the events in Abkhazia.

[Mayer] What, do you think, are the reasons for the successful attack by the Abkhaz armed forces, which led to the fall of Sukhumi?

[Chindarov] As an involuntary observer of events, I can see three reasons: 1. The Abkhazians had no alternative but to win or to perish. The Georgian leadership threatened them with eradication and deportation. 2. There is strong cohesion among the Abkhazians: When they fight, the entire population fights. 3. In the course of the war the Abkhazians have acquired a certain military experiences. Faced with the threat, they used all available means to ensure their continued existence.

[Mayer] Do the Abkhazians not also benefit from the fact that they can be sure of support from the Russian military?

[Chindarov] No, this is not the case, the Russian armed forces stationed in Georgia and Abkhazia are strictly neutral. They give military support neither to one side nor the other. We only got involved in humanitarian aid. When the mining town of Tkvarceli in the Caucasus was surrounded by Georgian troops, we tried to provide the civilian population with food from helicopters.

[Mayer] The Russian forces did not participate in the attack on Sukhumi, either?

[Chindarov] No, on the contrary, the paratroopers who were stationed in the town came under fire from two sides. We had warned both sides to leave us alone.

[Mayer] How do you see Russia's future role?

[Chindarov] As an officer of the General Staff, I am not permitted to make any political statements. However, Abkhazia has only two neighbors. All bridges have probably been burned to Georgia. Thus, there only remains the big neighbor Russia. If the peace is preserved, the Abkhazian people will want to have Russia as a good neighbor, perhaps even as a member of the

Russian Federation—there are also voices among the Abkhaz population who demand that.

Government Announces Christopher's 21-23 Oct Visit

LD1210125993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1240 GMT 12 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 12 Oct—U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher will visit Moscow 21-23 October. This was announced at a briefing today by Grigoriy Karasin, director of the information and press department of the Russian Foreign Ministry. He noted that the head of the U.S. foreign policy department will also visit the capitals of Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan and Latvia.

Further on Christopher Visits

LD1210201093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1759 GMT 12 Oct 93

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[Text] As Interfax learned from well-informed sources in Russia's Foreign Ministry, the U.S. Secretary of State, Warren Christopher, will pay a visit to Moscow on October 22-23. He is expected to arrive in Russia's capital from Budapest on the evening of October 21. In addition, Warren Christopher is to visit other former Soviet republics: Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan and Latvia.

The program of his visit to Russia includes a meeting with President Boris Yeltsin, and talks with Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev. "This will be a purely working visit. Evidently in Moscow the two sides will discuss the details of the proposed Russian-American summit, bilateral relations and some international problems, such as developments in the 'hot spots' of the former USSR and Russia's participation in efforts to resolve those conflicts," a high-ranking member of Russia's Foreign Ministry told Interfax's correspondent.

According to him, the Americans want to know whether Russia will alter its foreign policy, particularly its "American component," after the dissolution of the former Supreme Soviet and the recent tragic events in Moscow. "Both President Yeltsin and Foreign Minister Kozyrev made it absolutely clear that there will be no changes in Russia's foreign policy. During the upcoming talks Warren Christopher will have the opportunity to get convinced of this personally," said Interfax's interviewee. In addition, he said, the U.S. Secretary of State is planning to deliver a lecture on "foreign policy and the international situation" "at one of Moscow's institutes".

The diplomat qualified as "untrue" the allegations by some news media that President Bill Clinton's visit to Moscow will take place before the year ends. "Recently the American president announced his intention to visit Russia next January, and, as far as I know, he has not altered his plans since that," Interfax's interviewee said.

According to him, the American president's visit to Russia might be connected "in one way or another" with the next session of the NATO Council, to be attended by Bill Clinton. "And this will occur in early December," the diplomat said.

According to him, Vice President Albert Gore intends to visit Russia in the 2nd half of December—tentatively between the 15th and the 20th of December. "The Americans said they hope that his visit will be able to take place right after the general parliamentary elections in Russia. It would be illogical for President Clinton to come to Moscow just after Albert Gore," he said.

Interfax's interviewee pointed out that the American Vice President will come to Moscow as the co-chairman of the Chernomyrdin-Gore commission, which coordinates bilateral cooperation in the area of "power-engineering and technologies". "He was invited by Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin during the latter's trip to the U.S.," he said.

Government Welcomes Clinton's Statement on Somalia

LD1210195893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1759 GMT 12 Oct 93

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[Text] Russia gives priority to the political aspects of the UN operation in Somalia. The measures aimed at disarming the warring factions must pursue the principal goal—a fair and lasting peace in Somalia. This statement was made at Tuesday's briefing in Moscow by the Director of the Russian Foreign Ministry's Press and Information Department, Grigoriy Karasin.

He welcomed President Bill Clinton's statement concerning Washington's intention to correct its mistake and focus on the political and humanitarian aspects of the peace-keeping efforts.

"It would also be justified to actively involve African and other countries in the search for the quickest political solution to the conflict in Somalia," said the spokesman for Russia's Foreign Ministry. "A peace conference on Somalia to be attended by all Somali factions would also be greatly conducive to the process of national reconciliation."

Karasin also welcomed the call of Latvia's President, Guntis Ulmanis, to convene a forum of local ethnic minorities to work out a "coordinated approach" to resolving the problem of citizenship and other issues worrying Latvia's non-indigenous population.

As the diplomat said, the Latvian president's suggestion aims "to meet these people's aspirations and the recommendations of international experts." "The latter have long been drawing attention to the need to establish an inter-community dialog in Latvia, given the abnormality of the situation where the destiny of hundreds of thousands of Latvian residents is decided without their participation," Karasin said.

Commenting, at the request of Interfax's correspondent, on the reports that the Latvian authorities banned several public organizations of Russian-speakers (such as the Association of Russians in Latvia and the Union for Protecting the Veterans' Rights) Karasin said: "The Russian embassy in Riga has pointed out in different ways the need for all Russians residing in Latvia, regardless of their status, to respect the laws of the country they live in and refrain from unlawful actions."

He said he hopes that, "no matter what measures the Latvian authorities find it necessary to take, they will not infringe on the rights of Russian-speakers in that country."

Peacekeeping Operations Viewed

PM1210085593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Oct 93 First Edition p 4

[Feature by B. Vinogradov, B. Rodionov, and G. Stepanov: "UN Peacekeeping Operations: Successes and Failures"]

[Excerpt] President Clinton has announced his decision to send 5,300 U.S. servicemen (including 3,600 Marines) to Somalia. He has also promised to withdraw all U.S. units from the country before 31 March 1994.

The total numerical strength of UN troops in Somalia will thus reach 34,000 and the total numerical strength of the U.S. subunits will be 10,500. In all there are now servicemen from 23 countries there—from Pakistan (5,003) and India (3,606) to Greece (110) and Ireland (80). The increase in the number of "blue helmets" is so far failing to help stabilize the situation. Since early May this year, that is since the peacekeeping operation switched to UN control, 77 men from the UN contingent have died in Somalia in clashes with General Aidid's gunmen and 301 have been wounded. The heaviest losses were incurred by the Pakistanis (34 dead, 62 wounded) and the Americans (18 dead and 116 wounded).

What is the reason for such high losses? Many politicians see it in the actions of the Americans who have entered into an encounter with General Aidid, who is supported by many Somalis.

"How is it possible, for instance, to launch fighting in the sector where the Italian contingent is stationed without notifying the Italians in advance?" asks French Defense Minister Francois Leotard. At the same time he asserts that 1,100 French "blue helmets" have "successfully fulfilled their mission, children are no longer dying of hunger there, and refugees are returning home."

The Somali experience has shown that the UN peacekeeping troops are in need of serious reorganization. The lack of a single command, the lack of coordination, and the many languages involved are cancelling out all efforts.

The United Nations must have its own "rapid deployment forces," the Canadian prime minister believes. But this idea is finding no support among U.S. congressmen or among the majority of politicians in Europe. In the estimation of experts such subunits will cost approximately $700 million a year and governments will not supply that kind of money to the UN fund. [passage omitted]

U.S., Russia Seen Lacking 'Coherent' Foreign Policies

PM0810132193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 Oct 93 p 7

[Vladimir Kuznechevskiy "Viewpoint": "The Cold War Has Ended and Left Both Superpowers Without a Sense of Foreign Policy Direction"]

[Text] Writers have mentioned rather frequently of late the fact that our foreign policy department has no coherent foreign policy. It has to be said that the Russian Foreign Ministry itself encourages this. If only because no coherent policy as such has been published anywhere so far. Probably that is why foreign specialists also admit the absence of one (see, for example, the U.S. political scientists' conversation in the Radio Liberty studio on 27 July 1993).

But few people have noticed that the United States also lacks a clear and coherent policy in this sphere. The mightiest power in the Western world is also somewhat at a loss when confronted with the yawning abyss of worldwide disorder.

Indeed, only recently, 10 years or so ago, Washington believed that America was quite clear about the fact that you only had to remove the "evil empire"—the Soviet Union—from the international arena and you would have a stable and orderly world. The idea was that America would be able to run this world quite efficiently alone.

Then the USSR collapsed. Never before in world history had there been an occasion when such a massive state, covering one-sixth of the world's landmass, had disintegrated so rapidly. Naturally, the consequences of this cataclysm had a devastating effect on the entire system of international relations. Perhaps it is not so much that a single state—mighty yes, but a single state nonetheless—had collapsed. As the fact that the global confrontation between the USSR and the United States was a mighty band stretched over the entire system of international relations, preventing interethnic and interstate conflicts from bursting through. Now that America is the only remaining superpower, it is not in a position to control and curb these conflicts.

The United States can still use military and economic means to prevent, for example, a state from seizing the whole of Western Europe (as, for example, Hitlerite Germany did in the thirties) or to counter an aggressor in the Persian Gulf. But it turns out that Washington is powerless to control local trouble spots. Small independent states and political movements are entering into conflict with the sole remaining world policeman all together and in numbers—and the "elephant" cannot withstand the attack by the "mice." In the same way that mighty Rome was able to control global conflicts, but was laid low by small but numerous tribes of German barbarians dressed in animal skins.

You might say that the USSR, when it collapsed as a superpower, dragged its age-old rival to the bottom with it: The United States is also ceasing to be a superpower and is now casting around for a place in the world. This is clear when you start to compare the words and actions of representatives of the U.S. ruling circles and the extremely negative assessment of these actions by the allies in London, Paris, and Bonn.

For instance, U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher believes that the "need for U.S. leadership in the world arena is stronger today than ever before, since the United States is the only superpower left in the world," but his deputy, Peter Tarnoff, objects, saying that "America does not want to bear the same heavy burden of international leadership any more." Bill Clinton said: The United States is now the sole remaining world superpower, so it "has a unique duty to be leader"—at the same time, he advocates that the military budget be reduced to a point lower than that proposed by his predecessor. Former Secretary of State James Baker insists that "all the myths about America's leading role should be dispelled."

This argument is summed up, as it were, by the conclusions of one of America's oldest journals, ATLANTIC MONTHLY, which wrote that the end of Soviet-American global confrontation has increased rather than lessened instability in the international arena and has led to a "U.S. foreign policy bereft of ideas."

Given such conflicting opinions and the literal disarray at the top in America, the Russian foreign minister's words after the summer "big seven" meeting in Tokyo sounded somewhat overoptimistic. Andrey Kozyrev said in Japan that "the West and Russia together are reforming the entire world landscape and the first basic elements of this strategy are already evident..."

Unfortunately, that was the case in the old days, when the USSR and the United States, grappling with one another over ideological principles, had a tight grip on the entire world order for nearly the whole of the 20th century and prevented, each in its own sphere of influence, major ethnic-radical explosions from breaking the surface. Now the situation is quite different. Ideological motives no longer divide the two world powers. Although competition in the economic sphere has not gone away, moreover, in some spheres (in the arms market, for instance) it has actually increased. All this requires totally new approaches when devising a coherent foreign policy for Russia.

Evidently our foreign policy department cannot manage without devising its own coherent idea of Russia's new role in the changed international conditions, primarily and predominantly on the basis of its own national-state interests. Indeed, only if it has one can Russia expect to be treated as an equal partner in the international arena. Until then it is perfectly natural for the United States to be increasingly persistent in presenting its own recipes for resolving problems arising on the territory of the former USSR.

U.S. House Committee Support for Friendship Bill Reported

PM1210113593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Oct 93 First Edition p 4

[ITAR-TASS report: "U.S. Congressmen Asked To Approve Russia 'Friendship Bill'"]

[Text] The U.S. Congress House Foreign Affairs Committee has recommended by a majority that the "friendship bill" with Russia be approved.

This document provides for the repeal of federal acts and decrees adopted during the cold war which contain discriminatory trade and economic measures against Russia and the other former Soviet republics.

Foreign Ministry Welcomes Latvian Proposal for Congress

LD1210152793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1308 GMT 12 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents]

[Text] Moscow October 12 TASS—Russia welcomed the Latvian idea to convene a congress of national minorities living in the Baltic state and representing mostly Russian-speaking population.

The proposal of Latvian President Guntis Ulmanis "meets the demands of those people and the recommendations of international experts", Foreign Ministry Spokesman Grigoriy Karasin told a briefing on Tuesday [12 October].

He expressed hope that the Latvian public, political parties and movements would support Ulmanis' initiative.

Russia had quite a few times accused Latvia of violating human rights of the Russian minority.

Official: Kiev Violates Nuclear Storage Accord

AU0810141293 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 7 Oct 93 p 5

[Report by Ihor Zabilyk]

[Text] G. Karasin, director of the Information and Press Department at the Russian Federation's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, has accused the Ukrainian side of violating the terms of scheduled work on the servicing and storage of nuclear munitions. Yesterday, his statement was disseminated through the ITAR-TASS channels.

Referring to the results of the examination of the technical state of the nuclear munitions that are stored in the area of the city of Pervomaysk that was carried out in the middle of September by specialists of the Russian Ministry of Atomic Energy and GKNS [expansion not known], G. Karasin asserts, in particular, that the nuclear storage facility contains between six and eight times as many warheads as is permitted and that, as a result, the radioactive background there has increased. In order to resolve the problem, G. Karasin suggests that the urgent measures should include the immediate transportation of all those nuclear munitions, which are removed from combat duty, to enterprises of the Russian Federation Ministry of Atomic Energy to be dismantled and utilized there. He also says that it is necessary to implement, as fast as possible, the Russian-Ukrainian agreement on the warranted and developers' supervision over the use of the missile complexes in strategic forces, in order to prevent the situation that has taken shape with regard to nuclear munitions in Ukraine, from deteriorating.

At the request of the editorial board, Major Korol, official of Ukraine's Ministry of Defense Press Service commented upon this statement as follows:

"The commission that conducted the examination in Pervomaysk confirmed: There are no grounds for alarm. All the more so since the warheads removed from combat duty have already been transferred to "C" facilities, which are in charge of technical servicing of nuclear munitions and which are situated in Ukraine. As regards the agreement on the warranted servicing of nuclear weapons, in my opinion, its implementation is being hampered by the Russian side, because P. Grachev's ministry has advanced conditions that are unacceptable for us and is doing everything in order to delay the resolution of this question.

Border Guards Decorated for Exploits in Tajikistan

PM0810155393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 8 Oct 93 p 1

[Unattributed, untitled report under the rubric "Focus of Attention"]

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin has presented awards to personnel of the Moscow Border Guard Detachment 12th Border Post for showing valor, courage, and bravery 13 July 1993 in an unequal battle with Tajik opposition gunmen and Afghan mojahedin. Senior Lieutenant Andrey Merzlikin and Sergeant Sergey Yevlanov were presented with the "Hero of the Russian Federation Gold Star" medal, and 11 other men were awarded the "For Individual Courage" medal.

Government Comments on Tajik-Afghan Border Situation

LD1110185993 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1452 GMT 11 Oct 93

[Report by Kirill Shakhnovich on a news conference held by Aleksandr Tymko, chief of staff of border troops, at the Russian Ministry of Security; date not given]

[Excerpts] [Shakhnovich] A news conference was chaired by Aleksandr Tymko, chief of staff of border troops. He said there had been more than 400 violations on the border since the beginning of the year. The contraband taken consists of drugs and arms. More than 150 attacks have been made against our border troops, resulting in more than 30 soldiers killed and more than 40 wounded. Russia is still bearing the expenses alone, although a protocol was signed that expenses would be shared with Tajikistan on a 50-50 basis. Tajikistan has not even set up its own border units; moreover, Uzbekistan intends to take away 200 of its frontier troops. What measures are being taken by the leadership of the border troops? This is what the chief of staff said:

[Begin Tymko recording] We are forced to fight enemy fire with our own fire, so as to prevent losses on our side. We are taking every measure in order to cooperate to the utmost with the other side, with the emerging frontier forces of Afghanistan, and with groups of a government trend, and also with those groups that agree to contacts with us, so as to turn the frontier into a peaceful sector. There are successes here, so it is not our fault that in a number of areas the Tajik-Afghan border reminds us not of a frontier but a frontline. The leadership of the border troops, the commander of the border troops of the Russian Federation, and the Minister of Security are making every effort to reach a peaceful settlement to those processes that are currently emerging on the border.

An analysis of the situation allows us to draw the conclusion that at the present stage the so-called government-in-exile of Tajikistan has not managed to realize its plans for a wide-scale armed invasion across the border. Thus, amendments have been made to the action tactics of the opposition armed units, which are currently switching to the conduct of prolonged partisan war. This is particularly reflected in the more frequent attempts by combat groups to filter across the border and then to concentrate in base regions. In September alone more than 30 attempts were made to achieve an armed breakthrough across the frontier, in which up to 500 men took part. Since the beginning of the year several attempts have been made to seize hostages. Attacks with the aim of seizing hostages are being made at the rear approaches to the border, and not the way some people imagine it. [passage omitted: examples of how troops are taken hostage while collecting mail, buying bread, etc.]

The forces that are there, as personified by the border troops of Russia, and the forces as personified by the 201st division, are insufficient. Let us put it like that. It is essential that the accords reached by the Commonwealth countries of that region be implemented. [end recording]

Move From Germany Causes 26,000 Homeless Families

LD1210202393 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1930 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] The German side has been handed over 602 out of the 777 military camps of the Western Group of Forces being withdrawn from Germany to Russia.

In Russia itself, servicemen are getting their housing, but you cannot say that this being done very willingly, or fast.

That is why it is expected that 26,000 families from Germany will have arrived here by the end of the year without apartments to go to. General Matvey Burlakov, the group's commander, is of the view that despite all the promises, many of these families will only be able to get their housing toward the end of 1995. The quality of this housing is something that is never talked about.

Yugoslav Embassy Denies Barkashov in Serbia

PM1210095593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Oct 93 First Edition p 4

[Report by Maksim Yusin: "Barkashov Should Not Count on Political Asylum in Belgrade"]

[Text] Reports have appeared in the mass media that some gunmen from the white house, including Aleksandr Barkashov, leader of the pro-fascist Russian National Unity organization, intend to go to Serbia. We asked staffers at the Yugoslav Embassy in Moscow to comment on this information.

According to embassy adviser Dzhuro Krneta [name as transliterated], as of today not a single participant in the rebellion has requested political asylum from the Yugoslav authorities. Since Russians do not need visas to enter Yugoslavia, it cannot be ruled out that some of these people will nonetheless be able to get to Serbia or Montenegro. But, the Yugoslav Embassy assured us, they should not count on the Belgrade authorities' leniency.

"For us the main thing is to keep friendly relations with the Russian government. In no event will we test these relations for the sake of a handful of extremists. Yugoslavia is interested in the speediest stabilization of the situation in your country and is prepared to promote this," one of my interlocutors said. The embassy is convinced that if people sought by Russian justice end up in Serbia and Moscow demands their extradition the Yugoslav authorities will accommodate them.

The diplomats denied reports which have appeared in the press that Yugoslav citizens took part in the fighting on the side of the SUpreme Soviet. "As far as I know not a single Yugoslav took part in the defense of the White House. Rather, journalists made a mistake, confusing Serbs with the Russian volunteers who fought on the Serbs' side in Bosnia and Croatia," Dzhuro Krneta believes.

Polish SLD Leader Kwasniewski Interviewed

PM0810154793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Oct 93 First Edition p 4

[Interview with Aleksander Kwasniewski, leader of the Polish Democratic Left Alliance, by Leonid Kornilov in Warsaw; date not given: "Aleksander Kwasniewski: 'Make Adjustments to the Reforms, Do Not Abandon Them'"—first paragraph is IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] The first session of the new Polish Sejm will be held 14 October. A large proportion of the seats will be occupied by the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD], representing a coalition of 28 groupings. Within that alliance, towering above such political minnows as the Democratic Women's League or the Union of Communists, hidebound by its Marxist-Leninist dogmas, are two giants—the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SdRP] party and the Polish National Trade Union Alliance [OPZZ]. SLD leader A. Kwasniewski, who incidentally polled a record number of votes in the recent elections—148,000—granted an interview to your IZVESTIYA correspondent.

[Kwasniewski] It would have been bad if events in Russia had marked a return to an imperial policy. Our parliament is not interested in cooperation with those who are seeking to revive the imperial tradition in Russia. We stand unambiguously for democracy, the free market, and integration with Europe.

[Kornilov] It is said that the left in Poland will move to the right. What does this mean? What form do your leftism and "noncommunism" take?

[Kwasniewski] Our leftism means the conviction that democracy and a rule-of-law state must reign in Poland where all civic freedoms are guaranteed and where the free market economy operates, although not for the benefit of the market itself but so as to bring prosperity to people. After all, not everyone in Poland is going to be a capitalist! We want to make adjustments to the reforms, not abandon them.

[Kornilov] But the liberals are promising that the market will come and everything will work out fine.

[Kwasniewski] Their promise sounds like the communist slogan: "A radiant future awaits us all." The liberals have proclaimed a new utopia: We will create the market and it will regulate itself. But the market does not operate of its own accord, it needs to be supported so that it does not have catastrophic consequences like unemployment, poverty, and bankruptcy.

[Kornilov] When did you start considering yourself a social democrat rather than a communist?

[Kwasniewski] In the Polish United Workers Party, whose name, as you will notice, did not include the term communist, there was a powerful reformist tendency which craved change. Our views were shaped there.

[Kornilov] What does your expression "grinding the concrete" mean?

[Kwasniewski] The reinforced concrete attitudes of many former members of the PZPR who joined our party ran counter to the demands of the times. But thinking of that kind is ground down by life, the situation, and discussions. Now we have no one who is dreaming of a return to the old ways, to a failed system.

[Kornilov] How much of the left-wing forces' election success is due to your party and how much to the OPZZ? After all, the latter has about 6 million trade unionists behind it, whereas there are only around 60,000 people in the ranks of the social democrats.

[Kwasniewski] The members of the trade union are not united on a political basis, their concern is the defense of their labor and social interests. The party is a different matter, politically it plays the main role. We are trying to do everything together.

[Kornilov] However, Ewa Spychalska, the OPZZ leader, stated that the union will not join the government and that it would take you six months to carry out the working people's demands..

[Kwasniewski] It was difficult for the trade unions to be at one with the government. They have to challenge it. We may have different viewpoints, but we always take the trade unions' opinion into account. Either we win together or we lose together. It cannot be that one of us builds up capital while the other goes under.

[Kornilov] They say that it is easier being in opposition. Will you come to terms with power, will you keep your promises? Is it not better to remain among the critics?

[Kwasniewski] No, serious politics must be carried out responsibly. After all, people voted for the implementation of the program that we offered. I believe that success can be achieved in Poland. If I did not believe that, why become a politician? It would be better to have remained in journalism.

Generally speaking, it is extremely dangerous not to keep your promises. That is one of the most important lessons of the past elections for both the left and the right. Solidarity was a great movement in the eighties, it represented millions of people who thought that they were going to take part in the transformation of Poland. But it turned out that Lech Walesa took power, his colleagues scattered, and now the ordinary man is being spat on again. The problem of participation in management and in decisionmaking is of colossal importance. If we resolve it even our most difficult decisions will meet with understanding. But if we lock ourselves away in our offices nothing will happen.

[Kornilov] Is this not a kind of utopia—nationwide participation?

[Kwasniewski] I do not think so. What was one of the reasons for the defeat of the right in the elections? It was that people are worried by taxes, prices, and social policy. That is what they really wanted to hear from the politicians. But the Polish right is preoccupied mainly with the past, with Pilsudski and unearthing various problems from the distant past. You will not rouse people that way.

[Kornilov] Vaclav Klaus, prime minister of the Czech Republic, notes in this connection that looking to the past is like looking into a rear view mirror. You have to do it, otherwise you cannot go forward. But you must not get it out of all proportion either otherwise it will completely fill the mirror, then you cannot move forward.

[Kwasniewski] That is an accurate metaphor.

[Kornilov] What is your view of Lech Walesa's comment that he could follow Yeltsin's path and call fresh elections?

[Kwasniewski] Our president has a tendency for figurative expressions. I think that this must be interpreted as meaning that he will spare no effort to defend democracy. In fact Poland today is at a different stage of democracy from Russia. I do not want to boast, but it seems to me that on the path of transformations we have greater clarity and maturity. The elections showed the maturity of society. Extremist groupings were ditched overboard. In my opinion, the new Sejm is capable of adopting a constitution which incidentally will respect the powers of Lech Walesa.

[Kornilov] What place do your Eastern neighbors occupy in the left-wing forces' economic program?

[Kwasniewski] Polish foreign policy has two priorities. The first is our integration with the European Community. The second is an active political and economic presence in the East. We must return to the East. Cooperation demands new joint ventures, joint financing, and a joint entry into the markets of third countries. An eloquent example of that is provided by the agreement on the construction of the Yamal-Western Europe gas pipeline across Polish territory. This will mean new jobs and new spheres for the investment of capital.

Polish Official Doubts Expulsions Will Hurt Relations

PM1110083593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Oct 93 First Edition p 3

[Reports by Leonid Kornilov in Warsaw and Gennadiy Charodeyev in Moscow: "Polish Papers Accuse Russian Military Attache of Espionage"]

[Text] Polish Military Attache Brigadier General Roman Harmoza has been expelled from Moscow, the paper GAZETA WYBORCZA reported in a piece entitled "An Eye for an Eye," citing unofficial sources. It is retaliation by the Russian side, according to the paper, following last week's expulsion of the Russian military attache from Poland.

Polish National Defense Minister Janusz Onyszkiewicz explained to the paper that General Harmoza had been summoned to Warsaw "for consultations."

At the Russian embassy your IZVESTIYA correspondent was told that the Russian military attache, Captain 1st Class Vladimir Ivanovich Lomakin, had been summoned to Moscow by the Defense Ministry. But there was no question of any expulsion, and the embassy had received no notes on the subject.

The press spokesmen of the Foreign Ministry and other ministries and departments refused to comment or said that they "know nothing."

But GAZETA WYBORCZA claims that Lomakin was arrested by State Security Administration personnel "while photographing things he was not supposed to photograph." ZYCIE WARSZAWY calls it "espionage." All the papers cite the usual formula in these cases: "actions incompatible wth diplomatic status."

The actual expulsion of the Russian military attache prompted adverse comment in government circles in Warsaw. "Why do we want another conflict with Russia at this time?" one official said to journalists. "The situation is tense as it is." Another regarded it as unfortunate that the "State Security Administration acts first and thinks later"

According to GAZETA WYBORCZA, Polish politicians do not want the "Lomakin affair to adversely affect Polish-Russian relations, when Moscow is in turmoil and the West is considering Yeltsin's letter (concerning the problem of admitting Poland and other East European countries to NATO—L. Kornilov)."

ZYCIE WARSZAWY cites an anonymous Polish army officer: "The activities in Poland of intelligence agents from the other side of the eastern border have now assumed unprecedented dimensions. Nearly every day we get Russian, Ukrainian, and Belorussian intelligence officers coming into the country. It is normal to see many 'tourists' from the East appear in the vicinity during major military exercises here."

ZYCIA WARSZAWY concludes its commentary as follows: "Polish army commanders are convinced that the West would have granted us licenses for military hardware long ago, if only we had been able to guarantee that the Polish defense industry was fully protected against the intelligence services of the states of the former USSR."

IZVESTIYA correspondent in Moscow Gennadiy Charodeyev dialed the number of a representative of the Russian Defense Ministry General Staff Main Intelligence Directorate to obtain a comment on the report in GAZETA WYBORCZA. The department's staff, as ever, refused point-blank to talk with the press. Specialists at other Defense Ministry information services were also unobtainable—all the telephones had been switched to answering machines.

But there was one man at the Russian Foreign Ministry who, in reply to our correspondent's question, said that "our Foreign Ministry gave up intelligence activity long ago." It also turns out that Moscow learned of the expulsion of Russian military attache Captain 1st Class V. Lomakin from Warsaw from the Polish media. "Whatever the nature of this incident, it will certainly not cast a shadow on the strong Russian-Polish relations," a dioplomat who wished to remain anonymous said.

Military Envoy to Poland Discusses Army

WS0810130293 Kaliningrad STRAZH BALTIKI in Russian 23 Sep 93 p 2

[Interview with General Colonel Leonid Kovalev, chief of the operative group, representative of the Russian Armed Forces Command in Poland, by VESTNIK VOYENNOY INFORMATSIYI correspondent E. Smirnov; place and date not given: "Russia's Professional Army: What Kind?"]

[Text] [Kovalev] Russia has traditionally had one of the best armies in the world that was based on professional military. Many battles conducted by outstanding Russian commanders are being studied in virtually all military academies of the world. Also today, Russia is capable of significantly increasing the potential of its Armed Forces, by relying on professionals. I fully support the current state policy of building a professional army that would be small in number but have a much higher combat potential.

[Smirnov] When you are speaking of a policy of building a professional army, what do you mean?

[Kovalev] I mean an entire system of measures, taken by both legislative and executive bodies. These include laws on defense, on military duty and military service which have formed a good legislative basis for developing the Army according to the principles of professionalism. The Defense Ministry has done a good practical job of drafting contractors.

[Smirnov] What part of the army should be manned by contractors—50, 75, or 100 percent?

[Kovalev] I do not think that we should set down fixed figures. This will depend on the arms of the service. Take the Navy or Airborne Troops for instance—there is no point in manning these with non-professionals. The Air Force or Antiaircraft Defense Forces can use non-professional drivers drafted for regular service. However, it is normal for drivers in the Army to have to undergo solid professional training.

[Smirnov] What would you say about the Infantry?

[Kovalev] In motorized rifle units the percentage of professionals can be smaller, although in my opinion, every section commander must be a professional and train men, because squad commanders have no time for this. Machine gunners, grenadiers, and mechanics-drivers must be professionals to prevent highly efficient expensive weapons from changing owners every year and a half. In this matter, we can use the experience of reenlisted personnel used for manning similar positions in the past. In fact, only riflemen can be non-professionals in the infantry. Here, we may use young men drafted for regular service.

In armor units, tank commanders and drivers must be professionals, while gunners can be manned with regular draftees.

By the way, young men enlisted every year for regular service might be widely used in logistics and servicing units. The minimum term of this service would be 18 months. It would make no sense to call these people up for a shorter term because of the high costs of training. In the future, the scale of this kind of enlistment will be reduced.

[Smirnov] What is your opinion regarding the numerical strength of professional privates and sergeants?

[Kovalev] If we are going to have a 1,500,000-strong army, which has been repeatedly declared, the number of privates and sergeants will come to about 1 million.

[Smirnov] What are the current rates of manning the army with contractors?

[Kovalev] We have signed contracts with more than 100,000 people over the last 12 months. These rates might significantly grow in the future. However, I must point out that the Defense Ministry has problems attracting young people to army service, because the Army cannot grant professional soldiers and sergeants decent wages and living conditions. Unfortunately, a professional tank driver receives a lower wage than a city bus driver. Thus, we have to hire young enthusiasts with no families and no experience in life. Such people can be placed in dormitories or even barracks. However, if a child is born to this professional tomorrow, he will need an apartment, a place in a kindergarten, and so on. Finally, he may give preference to working in public transportation.

Then, serving in Moscow Oblast or say, the Volga region is one thing, and in Novaya Zemlya, Chukotka, or Kamchatka—quite another. People must have material stimulation for serving there. However, we have no resources for this so far.

[Smirnov] What if the state manages to grant a genuinely high material status to professional servicemen?

[Kovalev] I believe that in this case there will be no difficulties with contracting more personnel. Besides, commanders of all levels will have a wonderful opportunity for efficient training of highly proficient personnel. Then, the saying "the service is continuing even when the soldier is sleeping" will become obsolete.

[Smirnov] What is your viewpoint on the theory and practice of appointing officers to key Army and Navy positions?

[Kovalev] I am an advocate of step-by-step promotions of commanders, when an individual is appointed army commander only after commanding a regiment, a division, and working as army chief of staff. I believe that an officer should occupy each of these positions for at least two years. This is the only way to understand the complex system of the units' interaction and master their management. If a man jumps from one position to another, this does no good.

[Smirnov] There are opinions that a high-rank commander does not need to be an expert in all the nuances of the interaction of units and subunits at the lower level. So let us say: Let company, regiment, battalion, and division commanders take care of this. The more so that army and military district commanders have powerful staffs capable of performing any task.

[Kovalev] This is a fallacy. A commander should give orders and see ways of carrying these orders out.

[Smirnov] What is your attitude toward the fact that the process of breakneck promotions of some officers and generals is accompanied with mass reductions of professionals?

[Kovalev] This is a difficult question. There were 15 military districts in Russia. Now, there are seven. What to do with people? This painful process must be kept under control and regulated. Not always the worst specialists are leaving the Army. Many young and promising people are leaving and choosing civilian professions.

Foreign Economic Ties Minister on Western Support

PM1210115793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 9 Oct 93 p 2

[Article Foreign Economic Relations Minister Oleg Davydov: "Working Normally"]

[Text] Most regrettably, the putschists have done serious damage to Russia. Extra difficulties have emerged in our work too. Quite understandably, our foreign partners' confidence in us has not increased. Nonetheless, all our representatives on the ground and all our trade missions have informed Western businessmen that the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations is working normally and will continue to fulfill all its contractual commitments to its foreign partners even under state-of-emergency conditions. We will be trying to ensure that our losses in this area are minimized.

As for the reaction from Western business circles, practically all our current visitors with whom we are meeting support the actions of the president and government and believe that the sooner the criminal reactionary communist grouping is swept from the political arena, the quicker the situation in the country will get back to normal.

Refusal To Sell Cryogenic Engines to India Viewed

LD1110192293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1636 GMT 11 Oct 93

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[Text] Russia's refusal to supply India with cryogenic rocket boosters will have no negative impact on the state of Russo-Indian relations. This statement was made in an interview with Interfax's correspondent on Monday by the secretary for foreign affairs of India's Foreign Ministry (equivalent to the rank of deputy minister: Interfax), Jotendra Nath Diksit.

According to him, the incident did not create a misunderstanding in relations between Russia and India, since their foundations are solid and permanent.

The Indian diplomat said he is confident that cooperation between the two countries will continue to develop in the area of science and technology also.

On Monday Indian Ambassador to Moscow Ranendra Sen and Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov signed a protocol on exchanging instruments of ratification to the Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation, which was signed last January, during the official visit to Delhi by President Boris Yeltsin.

China Nuclear Power Deal Seen Opening to Wider Market

PM1210134993 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 9 Oct 93 p 2

[Vladimir Naumov report: "Russian New Technologies Heading East"]

[Text] At the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations a new contract has been signed between Russia and China. Under this contract our specialists will carry out a feasibility study to determine the choice of site for the construction of a nuclear electric power station in Liaoning Province in northeast China. It will include two power units each with a capacity of 1 megawatt. Each one is the latest product of Russia's designers and nuclear engineers. When they designed their reactors they took into account the sorry experience of Chernobyl. These reactors are distinguished by considerably greater operational reliability and are environmentally clean. According to Zang Minchang, leader of the Chinese delegation and chief nuclear power engineer of the PRC Energy Ministry, the equipment of this new station represents a concentration of Russian "high technology" in the peaceful use of nuclear power. He also believes that its construction will pave the way to the Chinese market for Russian high technology output, and not only in the sphere of nuclear power engineering. Taking into account China's growing influence over its eastern neighbors, the successful completion of the project could possibly signal the beginning of an assault by our output and high technology on the countries of the Asia and Pacific region.

Political Issues

Yeltsin Signs Edicts, Creates New Constitutional Bodies

Creates Federal Assembly 'Apparatus'

PM1210115593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Oct 93 First Edition p 4

[Edict No. 1614 of the Russian Federation President "On the Russian Federation Federal Assembly Apparatus," dated 8 October 1993, The Kremlin, Moscow and signed by Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin]

[Text] In accordance with the Statute on Federal Organs of Power in the Transitional Period, brought into force by the 21 September 1993 edict No. 1400 of the Russian Federation president "On Stage-by-Stage Constitutional Reform in the Russian Federation," in order to make proper preparations for the start of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly's work and provide for the activities of the Federation Council, the Commission for Legislative Initiatives under the Russian Federation president, and also the Russian part of the Interparliamntary Assembly of CIS States, I decree that:

1. A Russian Federation Federal Assembly apparatus is to be formed. The number of Russian Federation Federal Assembly personnel is to be set at 537.

2. Vladimir Nikolayevich Podoprigora is to be appointed head of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly apparatus.

3. The head of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly apparatus is to submit a Provisional Statute on the Russian Federation Federal Assembly Apparatus and its provisional structure for approval.

4. Until the Russian Federation Federal Assembly starts work the Russian Federational Federal Assembly apparatus will provide backup for the Federation Council sessions and the activities of the Commission for Legislative Initiatives under the Russian Federation president and the Russian part of the Interparliamentary Assembly of CIS States.

5. Expenditure on the upkeep and activities of the Russian Federation Federal Assemly apparatus is to be met from Russian Federation republic budget funds for 1993, available as a result of the discontinuation of funding for the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet.

6. The edict of the Russian Federation president "On the Russian Federation Federal Assembly Apparatus" is to be submitted for examination by the Russian Federation Federal Assembly.

7. The present edict enters into force from the moment it is signed.

[Signed] Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin
[Dated] The Kremlin, Moscow, 8 October 1993.

Amends Statute on Federation Council

PM1310102393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 13 Oct 93 p 1

[Edict No. 1625 of the Russian Federation president "On Amendments and Additions to the Statute on Federal Organs of Power for the Transition Period"; dated 11 October 1993 and signed by Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin]

[Text] For the purpose of the consistent implementation of stage-by-stage constitutional reform and with a view to ensuring a democratic procedure for forming the Federal Assembly-Parliament of the Russian Federation I decree:

The following amendments are to be made to the Statute on Federal Organs of Power for the Transition Period:

1. Section 2 of Article 2 is to read:

"Two deputies from each component of the Russian Federation are elected to the Federation Council."

2. Section 1 of Article 3 is to read:

"The Federation Council and the State Duma are elected for a four-year term."

Article 3 is to be expanded by the inclusion of Section 2:

"The procedure governing the election of deputies to the Federation Council is laid down by the Statute on the Election of Federation Council Deputies."

Section 2 of Article 3 is to become Section 3.

3. Section 1 of Article 4 is to read:

"The possibility of becoming a Federation Council Deputy or a State Duma deputy is open to a citizen of the Russian Federation who has reached the age of 21 years and has the right to participate in elections."

Part 3 of Article 4 is to read:

"Federation Council and State Duma deputies work on a professional and permanent basis. A Federation Council deputy and a State Duma deputy cannot be in state service or engage in other paid activity with the exception of teaching, scientific, or other creative activity."

4. Article 5 is to read:

"Federation Council deputies and State Duma deputies enjoy parliamentary [deputatskiy] immunity for the duration of their term of office. A deputy cannot be detained, arrested, or frisked [podvergnut obysku] except when detained at the scene of a crime. He cannot be searched [podvergnut dosmotru] except when this is necessary to ensure the safety of other people.

"The question of deprivation of parliamentary immunity is decided, following a submission by the Russian Federation general prosecutor, by the appropriate chamber of the Federal Assembly on the basis of the findings of a Federation Council or State Duma commission formed specially for the case in question.

"Federation Council deputies and State Duma deputies cannot have legal proceedings instituted against them for an opinion expressed, a position taken in a vote, or other actions compatible with the status of a deputy."

5. Article 6 is to read:

"The Federal Assembly operates on a permanent basis.

"The Federation Council and the State Duma meet for their first sittings on the 30th day after their election. The president of the Russian Federation can convene a sitting of a chamber of the Federal Assembly earlier than this date.

"The first sitting of a chamber is opened by the senior deputy."

6. In Section 2 of Article 4, Section 1 of Article 11, Section 4 of Article 12, and Section 3 of Article 14 the words "Federation Council member" and "Federation Council members" are to be replaced by the words "Federation Council deputy" and "Federation Council Deputies" respectively.

Sets Up Constitutional Conference's 'State Chamber'

LD1210141893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1325 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] Moscow, 12 Oct—Before leaving for Tokyo, Russian President Boris Yeltsin issued an instruction to set up the State Chamber of the Constitutional Conference.

Boris Zolotukhin and Aleksandr Yakovlev have been appointed coordinators of the chamber.

The State Chamber of the Constitutional Conference is a body designed to ensure coordination between federal bodies of state authority and the bodies of state authority in the constituent parts of the Russian Federation in the constitutional process.

The main task of the state chamber is to draw up proposals on amendments and additions to the draft constitution of the Russian Federation. The state chamber also adopts recommendations on political, social and socioeconomic matters.

The composition of the state chamber is not to exceed 250 people, including representatives of the constituent parts of the Russian Federation (two from each constituent part), presidential representatives, government representatives, members of the working group of the constitutional commission for examining the draft Russian Federation constitution, former people's deputies representing the legislative proposals commission under the president, and former people's deputies representing the human rights commission under the president.

Sittings of the state chamber are called by the Russian president, and he is also entitled to issue an instruction terminating the operation of the state chamber.

Endorses Statute on 'Public Chamber'

LD1210200793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1600 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] Moscow October 12 TASS—The President of the Russian Federation Boris Yeltsin has endorsed the statute on the Public Chamber of the Constitutional Assembly and appointed Anatoliy Sobchak its coordinator.

In accordance with the statute, the Public Chamber of the Constitutional Assembly ensures the participation of public associations in the constitutional process and is an organisational form of their interaction with federal bodies of power of the Russian Federation.

The necessary political consultations on a wide range of socio-political problems are to be held in the framework of the Public Chamber. The main task of the Public Chamber is to work out proposals for amendments and addenda to the Constitution of the Russian Federation.

The Public Chamber incorporates representatives of political parties, mass movements, public organisations, entrepreneurial organisations registered by the Russian Ministry of Justice, religious confessions, associations of bodies of local government and all-Russia trade unions.

Joint sessions of the State Chamber and the Public Chamber held in the framework of the Constitutional Assembly are called by the president of the Russian Federation.

Kazannik Comments on Charges Against Rutskoy, Others

LD1210204893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1942 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] Russia's new Prosecutor General, Aleksey Kazannik, said there was still not enough evidence to make any specific charges against Ruslan Khasbulatov, Aleksandr Rutskoy, Vyacheslav Achalov, Andrey Dunayev, and Viktor Barannikov, arrested during Moscow's tragic events of October 3-4.

"I think they will be charged with organization of mass riots," he told the Izvestiya newspaper in an interview to appear in Wednesday's [13 October] issue of the paper.

Asked about his own attitude to the revolt organizers, he said, "Party affiliation must play no role in such matters." "Nobody can be prosecuted for political or social reasons," he said replying to Izvestiya's remark that there were communists among those who incited the rebellion.

Kazannik said his relationship with Sergey Baburin, who may also be prosecuted, caused him some problems (both of them used to teach at Omsk University).

"If I were to be appointed his counsel for the prosecution I would refuse. But as a prosecutor whose task is supervision I will make sure that everything is done in a lawful manner. I will be studying all the records very carefully," he said.

Giving the details of his appointment as prosecutor general, Kazannik said President Boris Yeltsin telephoned him at 4:00 hours on October 4.

"His offer came right at a moment when fighting was going on, when [television] programs had stopped and the radio was also silent." "The first thing I thought about was: Perhaps there's something I can do to help? He [Yeltsin] asked me, 'What time is the next flight?' I couldn't refuse under such circumstances," Kazannik said.

Asked whether Yeltsin chose him because he was looking for people loyal to the president, Kazannik said, "I think Boris Nikolayevich had other motives. Most likely he believes I can be principled enough and won't come under the influence of any political group."

Condition of 'Revolutionaries' Reported

PM1210142993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Oct 93 First Edition p 2

[Sergey Mostovshchikov report: "The October Revolutionaries Are Sitting in Lefortovo Prison and Not Complaining"]

[Text] After the latest, not very great October socialist revolution was crushed, approximately 160 revolutionaries were delivered to the Security Ministry's detention center at Lefortovo. In the course of subsequent sifting only the main leaders of the parliamentary uprising were left in the country's most respectable prison.

According to data obtained from Lefortovo by IZVESTIYA, none of the arrestees has yet complained to the prison management about the conditions under which they are being held. The local medical service rates the condition of Rutskoy, Khasbulatov, Dunayev, Achalov, and Barannikov as good.

Lefortovo Prison is an absolute and, probably, the sole exception in the country's penitentiary system. According to established tradition, a citizen is deprived of liberty here in the finest and most humane manner. Despite the fact that the state security's Moscow detention center guarantees the codefendants' complete isolation from one another, the disciplined personnel treat the detainees exceptionally correctly and have the right to employ only the formal mode of address, and any beatings are considered an extraordinary occurrence.

According to a source at Lefortovo, the recently jailed ex-leaders of the state are permitted to regularly receive parcels from relatives. They can also have up to 50,000 rubles [R], use the excellent prison library, wear their own clothes, wash at times stipulated by the management, listen to the radio, and read IZVESTIYA, TRUD, and ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA.

The source maintains that the management does not make any special allowances even for Viktor Barannikov, the former minister of security. All detainees are permitted to spend no more than R8,000 a month (one minimum Russian monthly wage, which was set not without the assistance of those who are now held in Lefortovo) on bread, butter, tea, cigarettes, and other items from a local stall.

The prison's medical personnel regularly examine all those held in custody. IZVESTIYA's sources do not confirm a report of Ruslan Khasbulatov laid low by serious narcotics withdrawal symptoms. According to available data, the former speaker himself learned of his "deprivation" on the radio—which displeased him—and he shared his feelings with the detention center chief when the latter called on him in his cell. The chief promised Khasbulatov an investigation, but said that in his view rumors of this sort are inevitable at present, and he must get used to them.

The source reports that in other respects the leader of parliament is calm and mostly lies down, reading (what else, in fact, has he left to do?). The only ailment, from which he still suffers, is a slight cold and a headache, which the local medical service, incidentally, has evidently already succeeded in stopping.

When IZVESTIYA asked how things stand with the other revolutionaries, Lefortovo replied: "As in prison."

Officers Union Chairman Terekhov Indicted

PM1210095593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 Oct 93 p 1

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA, ITAR-TASS report under the "Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow" rubric: "Terekhov Indicted"]

[Text] Lieutenant Colonel Stanislav Terekhov, chairman of the Officers Union, who was detained 28 September after the attack on the CIS Joint Armed Forces headquarters, has been indicted simultaneously under three articles of the Russian criminal code.

The wording of the indictments is not being announced for the moment. As was reported at the Russian General Prosecutor's Office Main Administration for Oversight of the Observance of Laws in the Armed Forces, the man under arrest does not dispute the lawfulness of his detention.

Sappers Search White House's Underground Section

PM1210160793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Oct 93 p 3

[Sergey Dyshev report: "In the Underground Sections of the White House. First Journalist To Go Through Them With the Sappers Was KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Correspondent"]

[Text] Russia's House of the Soviets is not a building but an entire city. This now deserted city contained everything ranging from stocks of food and clothing to weapons. Stores, hairdressers' salons, recreation rooms, cafes, canteens, function rooms, luxurious reception rooms, and thousands of offices.... There is another special area in this city which it was not customary for deputies, officials, or employees to visit. This was the underground section. Three below-ground floors lead to the very lowest level of the building, which extends as far as the Moscow River....

In the pitch blackness I lost my way somewhat before catching up with the group of sappers. Having obtained a pass beforehand, I rushed to the second floor, the one with the pompous portraits of Peter the Great and Lomonosov and the entrances to the parliamentary chambers, now all strewn with glass and crystal from the chandeliers. It is from here, along luxurious carpets and down a narrow staircase, that one gains access to the below-ground area. The first "minus" floor is, so to speak, light and spacious, even a truck could drive through it. The sappers had been working here the day before. Another inconspicuous staircase leads down to the next floor. Inky blackness and warm, damp, stagnant air.... Finally, somewhere ahead, silhouettes appeared in grey patches of light. Someone was carefully picking their way along the narrow corridor. At every opportunity I shouted: "Are the sappers here?" I was right to do so: These guys were keeping their fingers on the trigger. The senior sapper, Major Andrey Bubekov, told me that following the assault on the building, "they had not rummaged around in here yet." Therefore, we were still in a combat situation, and everyone was at the ready, dressed in flak jackets and helmets. Who knows, a desperate loner might still be wandering around the underground rooms.

"This is a normal task for us," Bubekov says, "checking all basement areas for mines, traps, 'surprises,' and weapons. It cannot be ruled out that someone is still down here."

The following people are working alongside the major: Senior Lieutenant Dmitriy Pasymkov, commander of a special operations company; Lieutenant Stoyakin, commander of a reconnaissance platoon; Private Roman Kuzmenkov; and dog handler Junior Sergeant Khabib Asadov. The dog that Khabib brought into the Army from home has earned its rest today: On the fifth floor it discovered a grenade with an trip wire behind a door next to Khasbulatov's office.

The first soldiers to go in are special-purpose troops from the Sofrino Brigade in black-grey "night" camouflage. They creep along with their weapons in the horizontal position. The lights switched on the day before are not working everywhere, and some of the way is therefore illuminated by lanterns. Doors and closets are opened by the "kick-it-in-and-take-cover" method. The sappers scrutinize every cubbyhole, look behind pipes, feel through every pile of rags, and look into empty boxes....

You can almost feel the thousand-tonne mass of the gigantic building above you. In some places you have to bend double and clamber over pipes, but further on it becomes more spacious as you walk through underground galleries. Water gushes from an open faucet and streams from a black vertical shaft like blood from a wound—a water pipe is damaged somewhere. There are puddles all over the place. You cannot shake off the feeling that you have fallen into the gut of an enormous monster. Pipes of different sizes and rows of cables in steel casings stretch away into the distance. There are enormous pumps. They constantly pump water out of the tanks on the third floor. The lowest level comprises a comparatively small number of nonconnecting rooms whose main function is to collect water.

Our guide is Aleksey Ivanov, chief of the building's electrical and technical service, who has worked here since 1978. Naturally, he is interested in what goes on in the underground corridors that stretch for almost three kilometers. Puffing away on his pipe, he follows the sappers, his flashlight picking out the bundles and junctions of cables. Here, fortunately, almost nothing has been disturbed, in contrast to the ravages upstairs.... During the fighting he was also here. He let his young colleagues go and stayed on in his domain together with a comrade. When the electricity and communications were cut off, Ivanov was taken to see Rutskoy. He had to explain that the on-site generator could not "cover" the entire building, and the telephones had been cut off at the Miusskiy telephone exchange. So there was no way he could help.

As we walk along, we discover an almost brand-new helmet. It is now a mystery who threw it away hastily, whose nut it once covered. We catch sight of an open manhole cover—someone had looked for a means of escape. Then we see bloodied rags and cartridge cases. A half-burned Russian Communist Youth League card whose owner was born in 1921 and, a few steps further on, a torn-up citation for a "Veteran of Labor" medal belonging to someone else.... The sad symbols of someone's ruined ideals, trampled faith, and lost hopes. Who are you, veterans deceived by the state? Were your "pieces of paper" cast to the ground in the bitterness of your final desperation or lost in your confusion?

"Well, I thought that after Tajikistan my time in 'hot spots' was all over," Bubekov broke our silence. "How many more can there be? I was in Afghanistan for two years and recently came back from the Tajik-Afghan border: I mined approaches and passes, including those near the notorious 12th border post. And now Moscow too...!" Thirty of us have gathered here, including 17 officers, half of whom are Afghan veterans. We comb room after room. There are traps, mostly F-1 grenades with trip wires mounted on clothes pegs and booby-trapped door handles, tape recorders, and cigarette packets. Basically all of these were amateurishly set up. We found three underground exits. They lead to the subway, the river, and residential premises next to garages. The exits had been broken down. So at least some people had escaped from the White House by these underground routes, and moreover without getting their feet wet.

Incidentally, one specialist with 22 years' service stated that it was possible to get out of the White House to any point in Moscow through these lines of communication.

As for us, having gone round in a subterranean circle (and, incidentally, without finding any dead or wounded), we went on our way unhurriedly, emerging through a smashed glass door on the first floor. Directly in front of us a militia private was carefully sweeping up debris.

Rescue Services' 3-4 Oct Actions Praised

PM1210131193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Oct 93 p 1

[Aleksandr Batygin report: "Reporting Details: Save and Preserve"]

[Text] There was no deliverance in dialogue, the bloody two-day war in Moscow is the harsh but logical epilogue to the interminable conflict between president and parliament. Newspapers, television, and radio have acquired their main topic of conversation for a long time to come. Eyewitness reports are giving way to commentaries and articles analyzing the causes and consequences of events around the White House and new details are being revealed.

Death does not discriminate against age, nationality, or political affiliation. Bullets hit democrats and Communists alike, left- and right-wingers, "Yeltsinites" and "Khasbulatovites," and mere bystanders. I later asked Andrey Rozhkov:

"Did you know whom you and your guys were carrying off the battlefield?"

"No, we were not interested in their political convictions. We were rescuing PEOPLE."

Andrey is deputy commander of a Russian Federation State Committee for Emergency Situations rescue detachment. They received the alarm call at 0300 hours on Sunday [3 October] morning. It took eight minutes to muster—around-the-clock duty means that disaster does not take them unawares. Mobile hospitals were deployed at St. Basil's Hill and the Moscow City Soviet and they went to where shots were heard. Wearing bulletproof vests but without helmets, the rescuers removed the injured from fire and obstructions and corpses from the steps of City Hall and by the Barrikadnaya Metro Station. They provided first aid at the field hospital and dispatched a vehicle bearing the inscription "GKChS" [Russian abbreviation for the State Committee for Emergency Situations] to the Sklifosovskiy Institute.

The men of the Russian Red Cross operational rescue detachment extricated maimed Yeltsin supporters and frenzied oppositionists next door, at the White House, by floodlight, throughout that dreadful night, which almost saw the beginning of civil war in Russia.

Some 98 injured people owe their lives to the rescuers: Regrettably, they also brought out 35 bodies. Documents have not been checked out—they are not in the mood for that and it is not their concern. They saw a factory-made fascist badge on one body. Just the one.

Andrey Rozhkov, his colleague Vladimir Melnikov, and other rescue workers are top-ranking professionals. The squad has drivers, mountaineers, radio operators, medics, crane operators, and welders, and most are masters of several professions that are so essential in emergency conditions. They are all sportsmen. Four years ago we flew to Iran together when there was a terrible earthquake. They were considered amateurs at the time, now in state service they are always on combat alert.

I would remind you that in Tehran the rescue personnel complained of a lack of reliable equipment and engines died in the ferocious heat, now they are proud of their equipment. It is not for nothing that the full name of the State Committee for Emergency Situations detachment is the State Central Airmobile Rescue Detachment.

They have two aircraft, transport, walkie-talkie communications devices, and a headquarters in Zhukovskoye.

"We are an 'official' service," Rozhkov said.

This kind of work is not within everyone's capabilities. Just recently rescue personnel have flown to Abkhazia on two occasions and supplied food and medicine to besieged Tkvarcheli. Immediately following our conversation, Andrey Rozhkov and his team set off for Sarajevo with a shipment of humanitarian aid.

There is plenty of praise now to be heard in Moscow, which for two days became a frontline city—praise for the president who gained the upper hand, for the courageous journalists, for the unflinching military. Fortunately none of the rescuers suffered injury—that is the best reward they can have.

Poltoranin Recounts Role During Crisis

LD1210163793

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 2152 GMT on 11 October as part of the "Beau Monde" program carries a 15-minute live or recorded interview with Mikhail Poltoranin, head of the Federal Information Center, by journalists Matvey Ganapolskiy and Aleksey Venediktov.

Asked about what he did on the night of the crisis in Moscow on 3-4 October, Poltoranin says:

"If you look in newspapers and periodicals today, and especially on television, there are an awful lot of heroes. It seems to me that people are bearing in mind the errors of August 1991. You know, let us learn from the errors of August 1991 and push Russia toward democracy, but these people also learn from past errors and are scrambling to be recorded as heroes. Some people were a bit late in becoming heroes at that time and had to resort to two column articles in ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA, like Ruslan Khasbulatov, for example, trying to prove that he in fact was the hero, and no one else. In fact this was a night of anti-heroism. None of the state structures acted in their best capacity, but our journalists looked wonderful against the background of this anti-heroism."

Poltoranin then cites some examples of the bravery and loyalty of Russian journalists during the Moscow events. He says that former Yeltsin aide Gennadiy Burbulis called him and asked what was happening at Ostankino. Poltoranin replied: "I have been calling there and the Kremlin, but have not heard anything coherent from either of them."

Ganapolskiy voices surprise at this remark about the Kremlin. Poltoranin continues:

"Yes, nothing coherent from the Kremlin either. So, we went there. By then the president had already arrived by helicopter and was busy with his own things, preparing the appeal."

Poltoranin says that Yeltsin tried to reach the defense minister who was at a meeting deciding the position the army was going to take in relation to the events unfolding in Moscow. Poltoranin is critical of the army, because, according to him, the army is highly politicized in words, but when it comes to defending civilians it backs off and claims to be out of politics.

Asked what happened once he and Gennadiy Burbulis came to the Kremlin, Poltoranin said: "Well, I would not like it to look, as it has been reported in our press, that we set the wheel in motion. Not at all. Ordinary measures required by your duties are interpreted as something extraordinary. So, we just decided to get up a kind of think-tank. Who is needed? Yevgeniy Ivanovich Shaposhnikov. All right, let's call Shaposhnikov. Volkogonov is needed, so let's call Volkogonov, and this man and that as well. They all arrived immediately to the Kremlin. We made contact with the president, with [Prime Minister] Viktor Chernomyrdin and the power structures right away."

Ganapolskiy then asked Poltoranin why the system was not working and why things started happening only when he arrived there. Poltoranin replies:

"Maybe the mechanism simply started working when we arrived. I do not want to blow my own trumpet, but the others had prepared everything very well. When we arrived the head of the Customs Committee came in and said that customs were taken over and given the order not to let out either the president or democratically oriented members of the government, or democratic intellectuals for that matter! They had already prepared a morning of executions for you and me! But no one knew about it. Neither the Ministry of Security not other structures did their job. So, there was a threat during the night, but units arrived by the morning. However, everything was under threat."

Asked whether lessons have been learned from these events, Poltoranin replies that as far as he could see Russia is incapable of learning from its own mistakes and lives either from one five-year plan to another, or from one coup to another.

Asked why he refused to take up the post of minister of information and press despite two presidential decrees, Poltoranin says that the idea of censorship was lurking among members of the government for quite some time, and that he could not agree with such a policy. According to him, during emergency meetings of the crisis headquarters there was only one repeated complaint from its members, and that was about the media not broadcasting the "right kind" of information.

Next, Poltoranin is asked why Yeltsin still tolerates his presence despite evident differences of opinion and Poltoranin's notorious sharpness of approach. Poltoranin replies: "He may not like me, but if I work well, how will he get rid of me?"

Asked whether Mikhail Gorbachev can make a comeback and save the country, as he has claimed in recent days, Mikhail Poltoranin says that he would never go on an intelligence assignment with Gorbachev, but he is entitled to his own opinion. However, it is clear that Gorbachev can never become leader again.

Poltoranin then says that Yeltsin might not run for the presidential elections. Having prepared everything for a transition to a democratic system, he might, Poltoranin says, declare that he has accomplished his duty toward the country and people.

Presidential Council Member Favors Reform of Local Soviets

LD1210124793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1130 GMT 12 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow, October 12 (TASS)—"Soviet power should be totally uprooted," member of the Presidential Council Leonid Smirnyagin told ITAR-TASS. As a specialist on regional policy, he analysed on more than one occasion the stand assumed by representative bodies of power with regard to the executive structures and the president, and came to the conclusion that about 18 local councils were actively instigating the dissolved parliament to the kindling of confrontation in the life of the country.

At the same time, Smirnyagin is positive that the reforming of local councils (soviets) should not mean their dissolution, the way it is being done in some territories and regions of Russia. He reminded that, in accordance with the president's decree about the reforming of the representative bodies of power, they will be stripped only of their executive-administrative functions, which will be transferred to administrations of subjects of the Russian Federation, while their control functions and the functions, dealing with the drawing up of normative acts, will be preserved.

Smirnyagin said he did not agree with the stand assumed by Nikolay Medvedev, chairman of the department for the affairs of regions and territories under the president's administration, who regards the presidential decree as an appeal for the self-dissolution of local councils. "The decree as a legislative act does not envisage this measures involving the forcible liquidation of the soviets," the political scientist stressed. As for the future status of representative bodies of power in the subjects of the Russian Federation, Smirnyagin believes we should not permitted the reforming of the local councils being turned into the revival of the soviets, because this form of the exercise of power has become obsolete.

Draft Civil Code Detailed

PM1210154193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 12 Oct 93 p 2

[Andrey Kolesnikov article under the rubric "In the Government": "Civil Code As a Means of Integration"]

[Text] A routine session of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government under the chairmanship of First Vice Premier Oleg Soskovets has examined the draft Russian Federation Civil Code. This document was created by a working group headed by Sergey Alekseyev, chairman of the council of the Private Law Research Center under the Russian Federation president.

"The development of all leading successful countries began not so much with the adoption of a constitution as with a civil code," Sergey Alekseyev, chairman of the council of the Private Law Research Center, said in conversation with your ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI observer.

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI has already written about the work on the Civil Code carried out by a group of lawyers from the Private Law Center and the Institute of Legislation and Comparative Legal Studies (ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI No 105, 1993). The preparation of the text of this fundamental legal act is proceeding according to the timetable announced back in early June, and the first—conceptual—part of the draft will be examined by the Council of Ministers Presidium in the very near future. The draft of the second section of the code will be finally ready by December. It is not impossible that, in view of the exceptional importance of this act, it will be introduced into effect at the beginning of next year by a presidential edict and only subsequently ratified by the new parliament.

In the time since the first press conference held by Sergey Alekseyev, the Civil Code's "founding father," the draft has undergone expert assessment in major scientific centers in Germany, the United States, and the Netherlands (let us recall that Dutch specialists took a direct part in the work on the Civil Code), and has been approved by Council of Europe jurists. The new code, which encapsulates the eternal values of European legal culture and the latest achievements of world civil law, in specialists' opinion, will be one of the world's best legal acts of this kind along with the civil codes of the Netherlands and Quebec Province (Canada).

The adoption of the Civil Code will make it possible at last to civilize the overly free-and-easy Russian "embryonic market." With the appearance of a legal basis for market relations the liberal economic reforms in Russia will acquire some degree of regulation and will become more rational, not to mention the fact that the Civil Code will promote the development of civil turnover on the basis of private law and the formation of a civil society.

Despite the fact that the design and structure of the new code are superficially partly reminiscent of the existing one, the draft is based on qualitatively different principles. The socialist Civil Code served "the material and technical base of communism," as the legislator once stated in Article 1 of this legal act. The new code serves the free individual and private property owner and precludes any "statization" of relations in a civil society. Russian civil law is now cleansed of elements of public law and is based on the inviolability of property, freedom of contract, the impermissibility of interference by anyone in private affairs, and free recourse to judicial protection of property and individual rights.

In the new code those who are going to directly implement it will find at first glance many terms both new and necessary for participation in market relations and in civil turnover (for instance, "business practice," "citizen's name," and so forth) and will discover changes in the "list" of separate types of obligations which will remind some jurists of the existence of Roman private law (conservatism in law has almost always indicated that it was perfect and finely honed).

The most important point is the changes in the right of ownership. State ownership as "the common asset of the entire Soviet people" (now defunct, despite the cited Article 94 of the RSFSR Civil Code, which remains in force) and kolkhoz-cooperative ownership give way to the "more human" state, private, and municipal ownership.

On the basis of the Russian Civil Code specialists at the Private Law Center are elaborating a model Civil Code that will be used and adapted to specific regional and national features in the CIS countries, which will naturally expedite economic integration in what will in practice be a single area in terms of civil law. The Civil Code, which is much closer to the lives of ordinary people than all political contradictions put together, is becoming the main integrating factor on the territory of Russia and the CIS.

Government Leaders' 8 Oct Activities Reported

PM1210112993 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 9 Oct 93 p 1

[Unattributed feature: "Executive Branch Monitoring"]

[Text]**Meetings, Sessions, Trips**

Russian Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin chaired a session of the Presidium of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government. The main questions examined at it were the draft Russian Federation Civil Code and the program for the development of fisheries and pisciculture. All the vice premiers with the exception of Aleksandr Shokhin took part in the session.

Two main questions were submitted to the Presidium of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government—the draft Russian Federation Civil Code and the development of the "Fish" targeted program. As for the Civil Code, a draft of part one of it—including sections such as "General Provisions," "Right of Ownership and Other Property Rights," and the "General Section of Circumstantial Law [obstoyatelstvennoye pravo]"—was submitted for the attention of Presidium members.

In the targeted "Fish" program attention was drawn to the questions of budgetary financing, research, missions abroad, and subsidies for net-manufacturing enterprises. The program also discusses the establishment of tax and customs privileges for fishery enterprises and organizations.

Apart from taking part in the Council of Ministers Presidium session, First Vice Premier Yegor Gaydar also tackled the resolution of current issues.

During the morning First Vice Premier Oleg Soskovets was engaged in resolving issues pertaining to the flotation of the Ilyushin Aircraft Complex, and then met with P. Morel, French ambassador to Russia. In the afternoon he took part, together with his colleagues, in the Russian Federation Council of Ministers Presidium session.

First Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko met with representatives of Baden-Wuerttemburg Land, and then took part in the Russian Federation Government Presidium session.

Apart from taking part in the session, Vice Premiers Sergey Shakhray, Anatoliy Chubays, and Aleksandr Zaveryukha also tackled the resolution of current issues.

Vice Premier Yuriy Yarov was attending a funeral in Naro-Fominsk.

Vice Premier Boris Fedorov met with the executive director of an international banking forum and later, at a meeting with journalists at the Finance Ministry, answered questions of interest to them and familiarized them with the country's financial position.

Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin flew to the FRG. He is heading the Russian delegation at a session of a banking consultative committee in Frankfurt. One of the issues at the session will be the former USSR's debts.

11 Oct Activities Reported

PM1210165193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 12 Oct 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Executive Branch: Monitoring"]

[Excerpt] **Meetings, Conferences, Business Trips**

For the period of Boris Yeltsin's absence, Russian Government head Viktor Chernomyrdin assumes the duties of Russian Federation president.

Russian Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin chaired a conference with his deputies at which a wide range of questions concerning the economic situation in the country was discussed.

First Vice Premier Oleg Soskovets is on a trip to France. He flew to Paris to hold talks with French business circles on cooperation in such spheres as metallurgy, aircraft construction, and power engineering. He intends to visit the firms Thomson and Total, plants in Toulouse and Calais, and industrial enterprises.

First Vice Premier Yegor Gaydar flew to Tokyo with President Boris Yeltsin. During this visit it is planned to sign a number of agreements in the sphere of Russian-Japanese economic relations.

First Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko saw to routine issues in the Russian Ministry of Press and Information.

Vice Premier Anatoliy Chubays visited the Academy of Management.

Vice Premier Aleksandr Zaveryukha was involved in routine questions concerning the activity of the agro-industrial complex.

Vice Premier Boris Fedorov conducted a session of the Commission for Questions of Credit Policy at the Ministry of Finance.

Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin met with Russian and foreign journalists at a news conference. Matters centered on the results of talks with the London Club to restructure the former USSR's foreign debt.

Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray met with P. Morel, French ambassador to Russia.

Vice Premier Yuriy Yarov took part in a session of the Commission for Organizing the Funerals of Victims of the Rebellion, which took place at City Hall. [passage omitted]

12 Oct Act, Appointments

PM1310100693 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 13 Oct 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Executive Branch: Monitoring"]

[Text] **Meetings, Sessions, Trips**

First Vice Premier Oleg Soskovets has been to France, where energetic talks were held on the development of Russian-French cooperation in various spheres.

First Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko met with leaders of the trade union movement.

Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray met with U.S. Senator Garry North [as published].

Vice Premier Anatoliy Chubays took part in a session of the "Greater Europe" commission. In the evening of 12 October the vice premier was in the Kremlin, where Sergey Filatov held a conference.

Vice Premier Boris Fedorov conducted a collegium session at the Russian Federation Ministry of Finance, after which he met with representatives of the Deutsche Bank and discussed with them questions of mutual interest in the sphere of financial ties.

Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin conducted a conference on questions of international humanitarian aid. In the afternoon of 12 October Aleksandr Shokhin took part in another conference, devoted to problems of employment.

Vice Premier Aleksandr Zaveryukha was preparing for a trip to Astrakhan, where a scientific and practical conference is to open on the socioeconomic and agroecological problems of the development of the Caspian region.

Cadres

The president of the Russian Federation has appointed Vildan Uzbekov Russian deputy general prosecutor. V. Uzbekov is a state counselor of justice, 3d class. He has formerly worked as section chief at the Russian Federation Federal Prosecutor's Office and deputy chief of the Russian Federation President's Administration Control Administration.

Boris Yeltsin has issued an Edict on the Formation of the Russian Federation President's Representation in Mordovia, the head of state's press service announced. Valentin Konakov is appointed the president's permanent representative to that republic.

In another edict, Boris Yeltsin removed Viktor Berestovoy from the post of Belgorod Oblast acting head of administration "for systematic nonfulfillment" of the president's edicts and government decrees, and also for "actions intended to avoid implementing the Russian Federation President's Edict No. 1400 of 21 September this year." Yevgeniy Savchenko is appointed in his place.

Russian Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin has appointed Ramazan Abdulatipov, former chairman of one of the chambers of the Russian parliament which was abolished by presidential edict, to the post of first deputy chairman of the Russian Federation State Committee for Federation and Nationalities Affairs. On the same day R. Abdulatipov had a meeting in the government building with Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray, chairman of the State Committee for Federation and Nationalities Affairs, who briefed him on his new range of duties.

Documents

Russian Federation President B.N. Yeltsin has issued a directive "On Extinguishing the Debt in Russian Federation Contributions to the Budgets of International Organizations in the UN System and to the CSCE Budget," the president's press service reported.

According to the document, the Russian Government is instructed to ensure, between the third quarter of 1993 and the first quarter of 1994, the extinguishing of part of Russia's debt in contributions to the budget of organizations in the UN system, in the sum of $250 million, and to the CSCE budget, in the sum of $3.1 million.

B.N. Yeltsin also issued a directive to the government to take steps to extinguish the remaining part of the country's debt in contributions to the UN and CSCE budgets and to ensure the Russian Federation's timely fulfillment of its commitments regarding the payment of membership dues.

Decision Being Prepared

In the very near future in Russia virtually all the restrictions stipulated in presently existing legislation with regard to the right of ownership of land may be lifted, it was stated by Nikolay Komov, chairman of the Russian Federation Government Committee on Land Resources and Land Use. The corresponding Edict "On the Regulation of Land Relations and the Development of Agrarian Reform in Russia," the draft of which has already been approved by the government presidium, is expected to be signed by Boris Yeltsin after his return from Japan.

Gorbachev Interviewed on 3-4 Oct Events, Future Plans

LD0910135793 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2135 GMT 8 Oct 93

[Studio interview with former USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev by correspondent Aleksandr Politkovskiy in Moscow; from the "Politburo" program—live]

[Excerpts] [Politkovskiy] Today is one of those rare occasions when there is no need for me to introduce the guest who has come to join me for a cup of tea: Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. Mikhail Sergeyevich, the assessments of recent events have been all the same. To be honest, I find it like a madhouse. Throughout our Russian history, we've had just two vice presidents. Both are now under investigation. What do you think are the roots of the tragic events in Moscow?

[Gorbachev] Let me say first of all that in the last few minutes I was as upset as you were about the report from Tajikistan, from the border. You know, I can't take this calmly because I remember that it's all been the consequence of the collapse of the country. The country needed to be reformed. We can't go our separate ways. We will never be able to go our separate ways. It now seems that we...[changes thought] No! We needed to reform and to define jurisdictions. Everyone needed to find his role and place. But we needed to remain as one country. This is just one example—and how many such examples there are! They are all the result of this disaster. This is what I am most upset about.

You know, we were building a bridge, a massive and heavy bridge over a wide and raging river. We got across. The time came to accept it from the builders. The orchestra had been booked. The document was due to be signed and the bridge was due to serve the future. It was blown up on the night of 18-19 August, 1991. We all know who blew up the bridge, that is, the treaty on the new union.

But the builders rebuilt the bridge. In places they repaired it. In others they put in new parts and components. They got to work on the bridge again. They got across again and sent the document for approval to the Supreme Soviets. Again, at night, at the Belovezhskaya Pushcha—they were putschists on both occasions—the bridge was again blown up. Now we have the situation that we see.

What is happening with us in Russia is to a large extent all the consequence not just of the fact that we have lost the country—although the country is alive, albeit torn to shreds. This is what keeps us going—but of course many things connected with the new policy, the new course and the new approach have emerged. You said earlier that there is a one-sided judgment about the causes and roots of these tragic events. There is no other way to describe them. I was struck by the way only three days ago people were shouting about victory, they were calling for the scum to be crushed, they were calling for a witch hunt. Disband! Close down! And this is continuing. Disband the soviets! There's no need for the Federation Council! I ask you: Whom will the Kremlin authorities end up with, whom will they work with? There is no need for the Federation Council, the republics and regions! There is no need for the elected soviets, which are in favor of elections as long as they are simultaneous elections. They are in favor of elections. They are not needed either. Some of the newspapers have been closed. Censorship has been brought in. I don't know whether it has been lifted now or not.

[Politkovskiy] There isn't any censorship any more.

[Gorbachev] We'll see from today's program. We'll check. With whom are we going to prepare for the elections and, most importantly, pursue the reforms? It's got all the appearance of a sham, unnecessary and Pyrrhic victory.

I felt it as early as March that the authorities who ratified and forced upon us the Belovezhskaya Pushcha agreement and the policy of shock, and that the Supreme Soviet who gave the president legislative powers to enable him to conduct this policy with confidence and to achieve improvements by Autumn 1992—and all this had taken place. It was one and the same team, one and the same coterie.

What happened? The issue is not that power is or is not being shared—among Rutskoy, Khasbulatov, Yeltsin, and the others. That is a problem, it does exist, without doubt—political ambitions, the clash of elites and clans. It does all exist.

But the main issue here and the roots of all the events lie in the widespread dissatisfaction with the results of the reforms and with the policy line pursued as of January 1992.

That is my conclusion. So from March, when I saw-....[pauses] In December I was against the re-election of the president and the dissolution of the parliament. We needed concord, we did not have the right to break up the country, we had to find a solution. Nothing was worked out. In March, even before the referendum, I became a firm believer in the idea that we needed early elections of both the president and the Supreme Soviet, and that through new elections we needed to bring in all the new people who have distinguished themselves, who are capable of doing things in new conditions and of conducting reforms and producing positive results for us. They should be brought in through new elections. We need a new political combination both at the federal and at local levels. This is my position.

But just look how irreconcilable both sides are. In order to pursue their battle, one group embarks on one set of maneuvers and seeks support from the power structures. Another enters the embrace of the National Salvation Front, the embrace of [Viktor] Anpilov [leader of the Working Russia movement].

[Politkovskiy] The fascists.

[Gorbachev] The fascists. Listen, this shows their impotence. They are a spent force. Elections should have been held. They finally dragged us into these tragic events.

I was working at my table when I found out that the Arbat holiday, the 500th anniversary, and the rest of the program, developed into something completely different, and that people started marching [towards the White House] from some squares and streets, I made an appeal, I appealed to the president asking him to stop all this and to say: Let's find a solution. I think that if they had acted on it straight away, if they had contacted the White House—they had to stop it. No one really wanted an agreement.

[Politkovskiy] Mikhail Sergeyevich, if I can interrupt you for a moment. A brief opinion poll will come up now, and then we'll continue. [Passage omitted] Mikhail Sergeyevich...

[Gorbachev, interrupting] Yes, my commentary, this is where it continues. You know, when people ask about the measures taken by the president, then I suppose it's referring to how those holed up in the White House were ordered by Rutskoy and Khasbulatov to storm the mayor's offices and Ostankino. I didn't hear it myself, but I'm even told that Khasbulatov called, sotto voce, for the Kremlin to be taken. It has to be said that this was a call for a pogrom. In this sense the measures taken, with hindsight, yes, once it had started and the pogroms were under way, then they were all justified.

It's difficult to go into details about who shot whom and so forth, but it had to be stopped. And they stopped it. I sat up through the night by the television, like everyone else concerned about all this, I suppose. I went off to work on Monday, and by 0200 the situation was under control at Ostankino. Everything had been taken under control by morning and the people of Moscow showed restraint. They have to be given their due for this. Although true, I don't know if it was restraint or some kind of psychological state, which should be looked into.

But as far as the measures taken on 4 October against the White House, I don't know how that is included in those 78 percent. If they approve of these measures as well, then this is where I part company with the people of Moscow.

You know, when the entire situation is under control, there are occasional surprises, such as snipers killing people, then this does of course need a curfew to be stay in force, but the presence of all these Army and Interior Ministry troops I don't understand. But everything was under control. All morning and day it was like a shooting gallery, target practice, when they were firing at the White House.

The authorities were saying yesterday that Rutskoy and Khasbulatov took hundreds of deputies and support personnel, women, journalists, etc. hostage, and that they were out of their minds. Okay. In the morning it all stops and all the people there are fired upon to punish Rutskoy, Khasbulatov, Makashov and the rest of these adventurists who dragged us into this bloody conflict.

[Politkovskiy] The measures taken were fairly popular, but the meeting of CIS heads of state in Moscow passed off almost unnoticed. Is integration possible now, after such tragic events in Moscow?

[Gorbachev] You know, the fact is, not everything is determined by politicians. The people, the citizens of those countries will decide—of our Russia and of our republics. The republics with which we all are connected. We have relatives, acquaintances and friends there, and we cannot be divided. I am confident of this, and so we must start thinking about a unification. The people themselves were the first to speak about this. More people are now in favor of re-establishing the union than were in favor of it in March 1991. But it is a new union they have in mind—not a USSR, an old command system with all its paraphernalia, not a unitary state. No, we need a new union, and this will have to be determined. I think that under those politicians who drew us into disintegration of the country, this process can hardly be hoped to develop in the near future—although there is every prerequisite for this. The people are in favor of this, entrepreneurs are in favor, and many politicians, scholars, and artistic intelligentsia are in favor of this. We all support this, because we cannot live without each other. We need this, Europe needs this, and the whole world needs this. Therefore, I assure you, the process will take place. The sooner these politicians leave...[pauses] It is necessary to hold elections everywhere.

[Politikovskiy] Thank you, we have at long last had this meeting.

[Gorbachev] Yes, we wanted to meet and talk even before these tragic events. Maybe then we would have talked about something different. Unfortunately...

[Politkovskiy, interrupting] Thanks a lot anyway. I would like to remind our viewers that I have been talking with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev.

Gorbachev May Come to 'Country's Rescue'

PM1110112193 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 9 Oct 93 p 2

[Interview with Mikhail Gorbachev by Aleksandr Gamov; place and date not given: "Mikhail Gorbachev: If the Country Needs To Be Rescued, I Will Return"]

[Text] [Gamov] During the assault on the "White House" some of our compatriots were on either side of the barricades, while the rest watched everything that was happening with alarmed curiosity. Where was Gorbachev at the time?

[Gorbachev] Gorbachev was in front of the television. But he was not just coldly observing the tragedy as it played out.

Since 21 September I have kept an attentive eye on the development of the situation and, as far as my current position allows, tried to respond to it. As for my initial position set out at a 25 September news conference, it was this: I advised President Yeltsin to ponder everything, return to the situation prevailing before 21 September, and propose simultaneous presidential and parliamentary elections. Incidentally, the "besieged Congress," Oleg Rumyantsev told me when we met, was also prepared to abrogate all its recent decisions and come to a compromise. You will remember that that was also the opinion held by the Constitutional Court, the majority of the regions, and a number of public organizations. Even the people who backed the president's 21 September acts were inclined to support this means of escaping from the crisis. The church also joined the negotiating process... In a word, there was some hope—considerable hope—of avoiding bloodshed.

I think that what happened on Sunday came as a surprise to many people. Before I learned what was happening at Ostankino and City Hall, I conveyed an appeal to INTERFAX and ITAR-TASS and urgently recommended that the Army not be embroiled in this affair under any circumstances—I said that if troops were brought into Moscow, there would be bloodshed and there would be war. Incidentally, at that moment I still did not know that a state of emergency had already been announced in the city and that troops were being brought in. Who did know? Television was not up-to-date, nor was the radio; there was no information... Afterward I was accused of opposing measures aimed at stopping pogroms...

[Gamov] Mikhail Sergeyevich, on that bloody Sunday evening your reaction did indeed seem more than strange...

[Gorbachev] Do not draw hasty conclusions. The way it has been presented does indeed look at though Gorbachev was almost excusing the pogromists. I repeat, my appeal was made during the afternoon and was carried late in the evening. That is for starters. What happened next? Toward morning, thank God, the situation was brought under control, the "White House" was blockaded by troops and armored vehicles. People went to work. Suddenly the parliament building began to be bombarded before the eyes of the whole world and the whole country. I was staggered!

After all, literally the day before representatives of the presidential side had said that Rutskoy and Khasbulatov had taken hundreds of innocent citizens hostage to their criminal schemes in the House of the Soviets—in addition to a band of adventurers, there were plenty of maintenance staff, apparatus personnel, journalists, disappointed "defenders," and lastly deputies sincerely upholding constitutional principles... And the troops began to ruthlessly annihilate these hostages—it transpired that the gunmen and the instigators of the pogroms themselves suffered the least injury. That was what I warned on Sunday. But today I see comments in the newspapers like: "Gorbachev, aspiring to leadership in Russia, wanted the bloodshed to continue." I wanted quite the opposite.

Incidentally, as we now know, Rutskoy and Khasbulatov tried to continue the negotiations via both INTERFAX and Grachev and were ready to surrender. That chance should have been taken...

In my view, what happened outside the "White House" was totally unjustified vengeance. Now you see: Several days have elapsed and the corpses in the building have still not been handed over. That is blasphemy! You get the impression that the authorities are simply trying to hide the fact that hundreds of people were killed in the "White House." On a bright, sunny day! In the presence of a huge crowd! Generally speaking we have now entered the first phase of madness... Our Army has been forced to shed blood. That cannot be forgiven. This tragedy, to which we have been brought by the leaders of the Supreme Soviet, the presidential structures, and the executive, puts an end to their activity. None of them today has the right to remain in power.

[Gamov] But the victorious Kremlin is not beating the drums in triumph...

[Gorbachev] It is all very well for them to lump together victory euphoria with appeals like "Suppress the vermin!" The press has now begun using the kind of language and tone of voice and voicing the kind of disquiet that should have been in evidence during those terrible days. Many of them realize that after everything that has happened we can no longer be the same as we were before.

Even the president eventually said in his address that this has been a tragedy and not a victory. He announced a period of mourning and also found words that should have been uttered on that day. But for the rest... You get the impression that Yeltsin has set himself the task of inspiring even more fear in the country and the people. And what next? I have heard nothing constructive. Just: The soviets must to all intents and purposes be dissolved...

Incidentally, the Council of Democratic Organizations, which is pressuring the president more than the most stagnant Politburo, is also demanding that the Federation Council be buried. Listen, now the president and the government will be unable to find a correct policy without cooperating with the regions. If everything is disbanded, I don't know where we will end up.

[Gamov] Mikhail Sergeyevich, you are always criticizing the president... But some people do make the logical connection: Gorbachev begat Yeltsin, and Yeltsin in turn begat Rutskoy and Khasbulatov.

[Gorbachev] That is an oversimplified, superficial analysis. New movements and people have emerged in the course of social development. That was predetermined by history.

Although, to take the pro forma approach... I remember that I was once sitting with Ryzhkov: Perhaps, I said, we should admit Yeltsin to the Central Committee apparatus as department head? "I am from Sverdlovsk too, and I do not advise it," Ryzhkov replied. "He will cause you grief." And Yegor Kuzmich [Ligachev] said: "Permit me to go to Sverdlovsk and find out what's what." A few days later he telephoned and said: "Mikhail Sergeyevich, that is what we need!" We are all children of our time. Although I do not agree that anyone begat anyone here. And now it is as if I ought to take the responsibility. No...

[Gamov] I now remember that during the last years of your rule ideas of an impending state of emergency were also in the air.

[Gorbachev] There were indeed often demands for presidential rule to be introduced in the country and a state of emergency declared. Or people said: Resign! It was a veritable siege! But I did not give in. I found it unacceptable to follow the path of bloodshed, of society's division into Reds and Whites, and of efforts to break up opposition. That does not mean that everything turned out as I wished. But I am talking about the profound moral convictions guiding me. I tried to curb both sides, advancing democratic processes so as to make them irreversible. And now we have come to this...

You know, I even have the idea of organizing a movement to defend rights in Russia. After all, take a look—citizens' basic political, economic, social, and constitutional rights are once again being violated and glasnost is once again being trampled. What is the point of any programs and concepts if we are ultimately embroiled in a bloody massacre?

[Gamov] Don't you think that the origins of the tragedy should be sought elsewhere than in the way Yeltsin, Khasbulatov, or the Army have behaved during this period...

[Gorbachev] I think that reforms should not have been carried out without collaborating with the people or appealing to them, as the construction material for building a democratic country. Russia's new authorities have in effect begun a cavalry charge that has brought the collapse of the state. That is, instead of reform we have gotten "Great Breakthroughs" and Mao Zedong-style "Great Leaps Forward." That constitutes neo-Bolshevism.

Where is the root of the current bloody tragedy? It lies at the moment when the erroneous, political course was set. Where were Yeltsin, Rutskoy, Khasbulatov, and all their other supporters then? In the same company. Then Yeltsin and Gaydar began introducing their shock therapy, the accelerated means of implementing economic reform in order to show Gorbachev and his supporters how things should be done in society. Yet prior approval had to be given by the parliament and the Congress! And who gave the president the right to issue normative-type edicts? The Supreme Soviet and the body of deputies as a whole.

Remember when they hatched this idea? When they saw the fruits of their joint labor: The CIS had not begun to operate, the country had been torn to pieces, the economy was in a state of collapse, and long-standing personal ties had been broken... Some 70 percent of citizens are on the poverty line! And then the president and the Congress began to feel a sense of alarm. The deputies proved the more receptive to this because most of them were living in the localities, where they saw everything with their own eyes. Then the confrontation began over who was more to blame. Yet they are all to blame—the Supreme Soviet, the Congress, and the president. Instead of realizing this, they began to settle scores with one another and brought Russia to such a condition that we are all soaked in blood. And each of the conflicting sides considers itself the savior of the Fatherland...

[Gamov] You are pressing for the incumbent leadership to resign. Won't there be a difficult situation if the people do not take part in new elections?

[Gorbachev] No, the people are expecting elections and will take part in them. And they will reject the authorities who, after nine months of struggle on Russia's political carpet, have now started shooting. We vitally need accord now—in order to advance reform and reassure society, and for the sake of stability. This can be achieved via simultaneous democratic elections of president and parliament. In my view, such elections could be held next February or March at the latest.

I am still optimistic that Russia can be born again. I have no doubts about this. I see how people have changed, how wise the body of directors has become. Over 60 percent of economic leaders no longer want to revert to the former edict system. A group of entrepreneurs has emerged—not speculators, but people who really do business. The kolkhozes are starting to dispose of their own produce, and private farming is gaining momentum...

We see that society is interested in normal, healthy, serious reforms within the framework of the democracy and freedom that are gaining a foothold. So I believe that we will make it through. Admittedly, we may take years or decades to do this. Or we may escape from crisis more rapidly, particularly the current critical state. That will depend on the course that the authorities choose. That is why I would like the people, the citizens to have their say via free, simultaneous, independent elections of all branches of power and regional structures. Then we will have organs both at local level and in the center that will have won their mandate from the people and will successfully implement reforms. That would guarantee society against a tremendous historical zigzag, against division and civil conflict.

[Gamov] You are often asked: What could induce Gorbachev to return to power?

[Gorbachev] You remember when I left my presidential post I said: "I am not going off to the taiga; I will remain in politics." I meant by this that all politicians in Russia, the CIS, and Europe in general need powerful intellectual centers to study, analyze, synthesize, and forecast processes. The foundation that I head, which has undergone difficult organizational periods with its formation over the last two years, is really starting to work. That is very important to me. Nonetheless...

A week ago I said I don't know what could make Gorbachev return. Since 3-4 October we have been living in a different country, a different time. Now I must think everything over. Of course it is no easy decision. Nonetheless, if the situation in Russia is such that I have to abandon everything and tackle Russia's affairs, to come to the country's rescue and save it, I will do it. I think that we are now on the verge of that. That is my utterly honest answer...

Interviewed on Recent Events, Elections

LD1110111993 London BBC Television Network in English 0715 GMT 10 Oct 93

[Interview with former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev by correspondent David Frost, in Moscow; Gorbachev in Russian with superimposed English translation; from the "Breakfast With Frost" program—live]

[Text] [Frost] Good morning, Mr. Gorbachev. The papers here have indicated that really Boris Yeltsin's victory this week was a victory for democracy and that this sort of violence was inevitable, sooner or later, as the last stand, the last gasp of communism. Do you think it was inevitable?

[Gorbachev] As far as violence is concerned the need to stop those who committed the crimes and who followed the call of Rutskoy and Khasbulatov and try to take over the Ostaninkino television station, and even there were rumors that they went for the Kremlin, that was absolutely right on his part to stop this violence. That was absolutely unexpected for me at least and for many Russians. I think also when the whole of Moscow was firmly under control they suddenly began to shoot at the White House, where not only Rutskoy and Khasbulatov and Makashov who commanded the militants were, but there were many deputies there in the White House, and also many women and service personnel of the White

House, and they were fired at from tanks, and this caused a huge loss of life, and it was absolutely unacceptable. This was a kind of revenge against those who provoked the violence, so on the first day of the violence the harsh measures were understandable, but on he second day it was absolutely unacceptable and we have to clear this up.

[Frost] Absolutely unacceptable—therefore are you considering perhaps whether you should stand in the presidential elections?

[Gorbachev] I think, first of all, we have to ensure, David, that in Russia we have prerequisites for a normal democratic process. I am not going to refute my previous points of view when I said that these authorities failed to cooperate with the rest of society and continue the reforms, and all those leaders who led to this crisis, who caused the split within the society, they have to resign. I am not suggesting that they have to resign right now, but we have an instrument which is elections, and we have to have elections both to the parliament and to the presidency, because the people who were in control of the country, they led the country to the brink of a civil war to the bloodshed; and the situation now is such that they are trying to organize elections in December. I do doubt that it is possible logistically to arrange them for December, and nobody really knows what are the foundations, what are the provisions, and of course you have the suspension of political parties, and you have suspension of glasnost or openness in the press, and I don't think in these conditions we can hope for a free and fair election when people will have the right to say what they think. And the roots of what is happening now, the problem is not that Khasbulatov, Rutskoy, and Yeltsin, they can't share the power, they are all in the same company and they began together, and they decided in those times to the disintegration of the Soviet Union [as heard]. They were together at that point in history, but why are they now apart? Because they realized that all which they envisaged before now has failed, so they are now trying to pass the blame from each one onto another. I am not sure whether December is a good month, is a good time for elections. I would postpone them until March or April, and arrange elections to parliament and the presidency and the local councils or government bodies all at once, and then we will hopefully get new people in the places of power who will carry on with reforms.

[Frost] And so, I mean you mentioned there almost as though you blame Yeltsin as much as you blame on the other hand Rutskoy and Khasbulatov for what finally happened. What do you think should happen, Mr. Gorbachev, to Rutskoy and Khasbulatov? Do you think they should be executed, should they have a long prison sentence, or should they be let out and free to stand in those elections next March and put their case to the people?

[Gorbachev] No, David, you see when I blame both sides, their responsibilites are different. If you remember when Rutskoy and Khasbulatov called on the people to storm the Kremlin and Ostankino, they have to answer for this, but the punishment must be decided by the law, but we can't leave it just like that.

[Frost] What about President Yeltsin? Do you think he should be punished in any way for his conduct, or should he make an apology, what do you think?

[Gorbachev] I was amazed after this shooting at the White House when dozens of people were killed, perished. I thought that on the part of the Kremlin, of the president we will hear apologies for the tragic events, but instead of this we had euphoria, and calls for further violence against the mutineers, and this was sowing the seeds for further discontent and a further split in society. And I was always against that in this conflict there should be a winner. I am firmly for negotiations. We have to talk this over, we have to agree on things, but as far as the tragic events are concerned, I was speaking in favor of a general mourning for all the victims.

[Frost] And in fact did either side, did President Yeltsin or in fact the insurgents in the White House ask you for your support or your advise, either side?

[Gorbachev] Well, what can I say. Neither side consulted anybody, and they never asked for mediation, and they never asked for a compromise. But many people tried to act as mediators, and Zorkin, the chairman of the Constitutional Court, and myself we all tried to tell them to explain our thoughts, our understanding how they should act, and many politoligists tried to influence their behavior. There was no shortage of council from even the aides to the president. They were expressing a view that there should be a compromise, that they should have agreed on a constitutional procedure, but we had no, no, and no from the president and from the other side, and out of this no, out of this niet—even the church, as you remember, they were trying to mediate, so both sides were absolutely wrong in their persistence. They were so angry with each other, they were fighting each other for nine months, there was a lot of mudslinging, and all this resulted in blood. They must go, all of them.

[Frost] Do you feel that democracy is safe now in Russia? Do you feel that Boris Yeltsin is a true democrat not an autocrat?

[Gorbachev] Well, you know, judging by what is happening now, what is going on now, with the press, with glasnost, I have my own experience in this when you have a ban on not just rightwing or those papers who are inciting violence, but when you have a lead on many more party organizations and newspapers quite normal when they have restrictions on their activities. [sentence as heard] I have doubts in the fairness of elections. Why waste time then? A solution could be just to appoint someone's allies to all the key positions instead of the elections, which are a mockery really.

[Frost] But if you decide that the elections next March if they are delayed, or in December if they are not delayed, or the presidency next June, whenever the presidential election is—to come back to what were saying earlier—

will you, if you are convinced that the elections are fair, will you be prepared to stand as a candidate for those who support you?

[Gorbachev] First of all, I will have to look at the atmosphere to decide whether the elections are as fair and free as they should be, and then I am firmly for the simultaneous elections to the presidency and to the parliament. We have the date, but we don't have any documents for the elections. We don't know where to elect, whom to elect, under what provisions, under what procedures, and you have to remember that we are living under an emergency rule now, and we don't have any prerequisite for free elections. You have the power on one side, you have finances on the one side, everything is on the one side, so there are no fair elections as of yet. Now my position—as you may remember I had been saying previously that there is nothing to suggest that Gorbachev may return to any position within the positions of power, but what had happened—we are now living in a different country, everything has changed, we are all very apprehensive, and there is a real danger of restrictions which are now declared to be temporary, restrictions on democracy, I mean, and glasnost. I am afraid that these provisional things, just like with the Bolsheviks who banned temporarily bourgeois newspapers, we never saw them reopened. I am afraid this could repeat itself and the situation is so different from several days ago that I am now thinking on my role in the future, and I will decide on this shortly.

[Frost] You will decide shortly. When you outline that so very cogently and you compare it with the Bolsheviks and so on, it is clear that you might well decide that it is your duty to stand.

[Gorbachev] Well, David, I know you are very experienced in discussions, but I hope myself, I humbly hope—I am also quite experienced in this, and I will think it over, but what we witnessed now several days is how one side, one faction of Bolsheviks fought another faction of Bolsheviks, and in the West I know that you were looking at Yeltsin on the one side and Makashov and all those militants on the other side, but you overlooked the rest of the society. In the West, it appears you think there is a choice between Makashov and Yeltsin, but you are completely overlooking the new reformist forces in Russia, both on local level and on the national level. You have many directors of enterprises, new businessmen, new politicians. There are quite a lot of people who are ready to take the responsibility for reforms, but the West simply doesn't see it. Maybe you have your own calculations in the West, but you are, I am telling you, you are overlooking those people who are ready to carry on the reforms who are interested in the democratic process in Russia.

[Frost] Well, we thank you very much indeed for joining us this morning. May I just say thank you again for another very, very stimulating and thoughtful conversation. I look forward to being in the flesh, face to face with you for the next one.

[Gorbachev] David, thank you very much for your questions. I welcome all your viewers, I hope we didn't spoil their breakfast, and I hope that something will emerge out of this discussion.

Cossack Leader Offers 'Unconditional Support' for Yeltsin

PM1110093393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 7 Oct 93 p 3

[Interview with Viktor Nikolayevich Ratiyev, supreme ataman of the union of cossack hosts, cossack communities, and associations of Russia and abroad, by V. Yanchenkov; place and date not given: "We Have Always Put Russia's Defense and Integrity Above Everything"]

[Text] It is not easy to catch Viktor Nikolayevich, supreme ataman of the union of Cossack hosts, cossack communities, and associations of Russia and abroad, in his office or at home. His post is obviously not merely eminent but also very busy, but this time I was lucky. The supreme ataman himself picked up the receiver.

[Yanchenkov] Viktor Nikolayevich, how have Russia's cossacks taken the Sunday events in Moscow and how do you personally assess what happened?

[Ratiyev] I voiced my personal attitude toward the former Russian Supreme Soviet long before the tragic events in Moscow in a brief speech on Moscow's Novosti television news program. It was a refuge for overt and covert Communists, they "called the tune" there, nurtured plans to restore a totalitarian regime, and did everything to delay democratic reforms and in recent months had almost openly opposed the Russian president elected by the people and the edicts he published.

I predicted that this political confrontation would end badly and frequently said so to S. Filatov and V. Shumeyko. Here I assured the president's entourage of the firm and unchanging support of the cossacks and, incidentally, there are quite a lot of them in Russia—about 6 million.

Unfortunately, my worst fears came to pass. The cossacks, all of them without exception, have the same position—unconditional support for the president and the policy of reforms, democratic rights, and freedoms. I know that in the ranks of the thugs and murderers there was a pitiful handful of people who had pulled on cossack uniforms. But they were not cossacks. They were supporters of the so-called union of cossacks created by the Communists and headed and inspired by "Comrades" Martynov and Naumov. I repeat, they are not cossacks but a handful of Moscow inhabitants decked out in cossack uniform. Incidentally, a curious detail: The office of Martynov, the ataman of the Union of Cossacks, was in the White House next to Khasbulatov's office. Now we can understand this was no accident and that like recognizes like.

The real cossacks in their vast majority are against the Supreme Soviet in the form in which it existed. In general. they are against soviets of any level. How could they be for a power that took away their cossack identity, left them to rot in exile and in prison, and hanged the Russian cossacks, our fathers and grandfathers?

The following fact graphically attests to the cossacks' attitude toward the criminal Khasbulatov-Rutskoy clique. As soon as the bloody onslaught by the red-browns became known, an enormous number of cossacks gathered in Novocherkassk outside the ataman's palace on the night of 3-4 October and demanded to be sent to Moscow immediately to help the Muscovites and the president.

There were 3,000 cossacks, unarmed, it is true, ready to set off. But because of the lack of the necessary transport facilities only 114 cossacks—one squadron—could travel to Moscow's assistance.

I want to stress once again that the cossacks have always, at all times, been law-abiding and have placed above everything on earth Russia's defense and integrity and loyal service to their people, to the czar, and the fatherland and today to the legally elected president and to the fatherland. That is how we were, that is how we remain, whether people like it or not.

[Yanchenkov] Viktor Nikolayevich, it is known that the leaders of the cossack movement do not always meet with support and understanding in every respect from the local organs of power. How can you explain that?

[Ratiyev] A very good question. I must say most frankly that all the Russian president's edict—on the rehabilitation of the cossacks and on state support for them—are in practice being sabotaged locally. Why? Very simple! The majority of local leaders of various ranks—primarily in the soviets and sometimes in the administration—are former communist secretaries and party apparatchiks. They have only changed outwardly but secretly remain fierce supporters of the old ideology and the previous system. Many of them are corrupt and have merged with criminal elements. This mess is to their advantage, only in these murky waters can they catch their cherished "fish." A strong, healthy, cohesive cossack community standing guard over order and people's tranquillity sticks in their throats. They remain welded together, linked to each other by the same secrets and thoughts, and, as we know, a crow does not peck out the eye of another crow. That is why the cossacks are against the soviets of all levels—those refuges of yesterday's masters.

[Yanchenkov] Do you think the cossack community can promote the successful implementation of reforms, and how?

[Ratiyev] The economic concept of the Russian cossack community is fully in the spirit of the reforms which are taking place. What is a cossack, after all? He is a master. He has always been a strong, prosperous master. All his wealth was created by tireless, painstaking labor. The cossack has always loved the land but has known not only how to work it but also to trade to his advantage, to set up firm economic ties. Even over many decades, Soviet power and the Communists, despite all their efforts, have been unable to eradicate these qualities from the cossack worker.

In that sense the resurrection of the cossack community in Russia is the resurrection of many centuries' experience of cossack self management, of the traditions of the wealthy private farms, and it is this which is highly topical for present-day Russia.

They say the cossacks are against private property. That is nonsense. The cossacks even in ancient times had private property, land, for instance, was private but its use was communal. And that was explained by the people's unique way of life. The cossack is a soldier. Through his duty to serve as a soldier he would depart on a campaign, go to war, but his land was not neglected. It was cultivated by the community and the family of the absent owner knew no want, it was fed.

Now look at today. In our Don host's Morozovskiy Rayon, for instance, groups of cossacks were selected—10 or 15 men—and six communities were created and registered properly. They have land and livestock and all kinds of small processing enterprises—you can grow produce, can it, trade in it, and increase your own personal wealth and consequently society's wealth.

Today the cossacks' private property also includes plants for the brewing of beer, for instance, and the canning of meat, vegetables, and fruit. If there is communally used land that means there will be bread and meat and much, much else. The cossack is an expert in service and at work. It is the cossack businessmen, the strong masters, who can become the nucleus of the middle class Russia needs so much, the class which must become the basis of the state's future economic prosperity. After all 6 million cossacks are a considerable force!

In addition through the centuries the cossacks have been valiant soldiers, the guardians of glorious martial traditions. Martial skill, combat skills, like land plots, have been passed on by inheritance among the cossacks, with their mothers' milk. In former, pre-Bolshevik times, young boys were consecrated as cossacks at the age of three or four. Their relations would gather, the father would shave his son's hair and sit him on a horse. From that our the cossack's entire life was devoted to defending the fatherland. And—glory be to god!—the cossack community's glorious traditions live on. As we know, the Russian president's 15 June 1992 edict instructed the Russian Defense Ministry and Russian Federation Ministry of Internal Affairs to submit a proposal on the procedure and special features of military service for representatives of the cossack community and also of the guarding of the state border and public order. But unfortunately there has been no progress here.

[Yanchenkov] One last question. You are the supreme ataman of the union of cossack hosts, cossack communities, and associations of Russia and abroad. What is meant by "abroad" and what are your links with it?

[Ratiyev] You should know that today over 350,000 cossacks, mainly emigres and their descendants, now live abroad. They are our own Russian people, cossacks who still consider themselves an inalienable part of the Russian people. Many of them would like to return to the motherland, others to have close links with it through economic and other ties.

So the Russian Justice Ministry has registered an international organization—the union of cossack hosts, cossack communities, and associations of Russia and abroad. Nikolay Nikolayevich Protopopov, a Tver cossack by origin who now lives in San Francisco (United States) has been elected my deputy for abroad.

If there is nothing to prevent it a session of our cossack union's economic council will be held in late October in San Francisco. We shall decide together questions of the creation of a single cossack economic area. We have in mind setting up firm and permanent economic relations between the cossack regions of Russia and remote and nearby foreign parts.

In brief, we have broad prospects and enormous opportunities, and all that is necessary is that, in accordance with the Russian president's edict, the cossacks are given real state support and no one puts a spanner in the works of the cossack movement as it gathers momentum.

[Yanchenkov] Thank you for the interview. Farewell, as the cossacks say...

[Ratiyev] No, not farewell, but until we meet again. Tomorrow I fly to Moscow.

Aksyuchits Assails Yeltsin, Khasbulatov

MK1210150493 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Oct 93 p 2

[Olga Odintsova report under the "Parties" rubric: "Christian Democrats Will Contest the Elections in Order Not To Let People's Power Perish in Russia"]

[Text] "The provocation succeeded" is how Viktor Aksyuchits, leader of the Russian Christian Democratic Movement [RCDM], summed up the events of 3-4 October at his press conference. The opposition politician also mentioned a few "distinctive marks" of the provocation. Meanwhile, according to the RCDM chairman, there had been a chance to overcome the current crisis. To this end, the congress should have set the date of early elections at its very first meeting or at least agreed to form a Constitutional Assembly (consisting of representatives of Russian deputies from regional soviets and Constitutional Court members), which would have passed laws on elections and on the supreme federal authority. Ruslan Khasbulatov and Yuriy Voronin, however, rejected "the possibility of compromising with the usurpers."

According to the Christian Democratic leader, Yeltsin and his entourage, "who are trying to install a dictatorial regime, are nothing more than political utopianists because Russia will not squeeze through this yoke; it will break up into regions." In Aksyuchits' view, even in these conditions, which are "far from genuine democracy," it is necessary to try to take part in the elections. "People's power must not perish in Russia," the politician concluded.

Editor Sees Beginning of 'New Authoritarianism'

PM0810161193 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 8 Oct 93 p 13

[Letter from OBSHCHAYA GAZETA Chief Editor Yegor Yakovlev to LA REPUBBLICA; date not given]

[Text] Dear Editor,

What we most feared would happen has happened. The development of democracy in our country has been interrupted. For better or for worse, with sudden headlong rushes and serious delays, with much resistance, this process had been going on since 1985. The 1991 coup did not succeed in destroying it, but I believe that the events of October 1993 have really stopped it.

Today a new era is beginning for Russia. That is a fact, whoever won or whoever lost. The political dialogue that represents a guarantee of democratic development in any country in the world has ended. Only one group remains in power. So democracy is finished and a new authoritarianism has begun.

Even if many things are still unclear, some things can already be clearly said. I spent the whole day on Sunday and Monday in the government offices, alongside this country's leaders. I saw men who were absolutely unprepared to deal with events. As somebody wrote in my newspaper: "Rutskoy and Khasbulatov lost out half an hour before they might have won." They were certainly able to seize the TV and, therefore, to win. Gaydar, who made a last-minute appeal to the people to take to the streets, told me that he was very well aware how dangerous it was to resort to the people, but, he explained, "if we had waited for the special troops, we would all have found ourselves locked up in cells in the concentration camps of Siberia." I heard with my own ears an aide of Chernomyrdin's shouting to a military truck: "Quick, come here, there is nobody guarding Staraya Ploshchad." It was like 22 June 1941, when the war started. Everybody knew the Nazis were attacking but we were taken by surprise all the same.

There are many odd things about the whole story, anyway. We all realize that, when the decision was made to surround the White House, Yeltsin and the government found themselves in a very awkward position: People increasingly disliked their attitude. If it had not been for the attack on the TV tower, if there had not been any bloodshed, it is difficult to see how they could have gotten out of that impasse. I am not able to say that the government sought bloodshed deliberately, but the fact that blood was shed saved it, allowing it to flush out the parliament building—that much is obvious.

Anyway, when events occur which end with all the power being concentrated in the hands of one group, it is almost inevitable that questions are asked about the truth of the official version. And normally, in cases like this, the winners end up repeating the behavior of the losers.

Until the other day it was Khasbulatov frightening us with his desire for censorship. Now the "democrats" are taking care of that. The censorship that had been introduced was even harsher than under the Communists. I can say that because I knew it well. Then it was removed. But yesterday Information Minister Shumeyko called a journalists' meeting and explained that we must censor our own articles. Meanwhile the opposition newspapers have been closed.

The witch-hunt is beginning. Yesterday, after tremendous pressure and threats to his wife and daughter, Constitutional Court Chairman Valeriy Zorkin was forced to resign. Shakhray, a faithful ally of Yeltsin, the man in the team who made the greatest effort to find a way out and avoid bloody conflict, is now called an "opportunist." He is about to resign. He told me that he could not accept the idea that all the local councils should now be dissolved, laying the foundations for monstrous cataclysms and an even more bitter clash than the one we have just witnessed. It is a grave loss because the leadership group's intellectual and professional level is getting lower with every coup.

I should add, as clearly as possible, that none of the contradictions which lead to this conflict has been resolved. Indeed they have become more acute. There is no guarantee of democratic development. I have spoken with Premier Chernomyrdin, with Gaydar, Deputy President Shokhin, and Security Council Secretary Lobov, and they have all told me that the only hope of containing the victors' euphoria and the witch-hunt within reasonable bounds lies with the president.

Yet those in power do not have the real strength to set up a true dictatorship. With all the goodwill in the world, they cannot succeed in doing that. There is no army ready to serve without question. The security organs are in pieces. The police force has pulled out of the game, and resistance will grow. So there is no question whatsoever of stability. To hope that there will be no more episodes of revolt and civil war is a pious illusion.

As far as the West is concerned, I used to think it was tired of us, of our constant begging, of the threat to stability which we represent. Now I see that it is I who am tired of the West, of its promises, its much-vaunted "political honesty." In the West there is only the calculation of expediency: support the current leader. I am not judging, I am observing. It would be more honorable to stop swearing eternal love to us, pretending to be interested in defending justice, honesty, and democracy. That is intolerable.

Government Urged To Be 'Democratic Collegial Organ'

PM1210121393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 8 Oct 93 p 1

[Unsigned note: "Let Us Remember the Lessons of Bloody Sunday"]

[Text] Power cannot exist without opposition. Opposition will reemerge as soon as the official analysis and assessment of the bloody events in the night of 3-4 October begins to diverge from the view of the majority of the parties and social movements as regards the reasons for and consequences of the October mutiny. This day and hour will be the date of the definitive formation of the new opposition—not bellicose and hard-line, but a more flexible and resolute opposition.

If the authorities continue to conduct a dialogue with the people only from television screens and newspaper pages, rather than with the help of arguments that people find more weighty, such as prompt and proper remuneration of labor, counters full of goods, reliable social security, and firm public order, then the threads of state administration will slacken and tension in society will not be eased.

The government now is not just the center of economic reform and the headquarters of the management of the national economy, but also an important instrument of the implementation of stage-by-stage constitutional reform. And here it is important for the Council of Ministers to sustain a balance between economics and politics, not to be carried away by the concentration of power, not to go astray and adopt an administrative edict tone, but to remain a democratic collegial organ.

Yeltsin's Actions Against Supreme Soviet Supported

PM1210103193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 9 Oct 93 pp 1,2

[Vladimir Guliyev article under the "Opinion" rubric: "September's Results in October, or Time to Tell the Truth"]

[Text] It seems that September 1993 did not begin until the 21st of the month.

For the most part, the episodes from Russian political life that preceded it were worth no more than a mention even at the time when they occurred (let alone today). In fact a group of "like-minded people" was formed which, admittedly, "spent a long time coordinating" their standpoints (in both instances I am quoting O. Skokov, the leader of the movement "Unity for the Welfare of the Fatherland"; I cannot vouch for the accuracy of the title but the sense is preserved). At their press conference the "unificationists" did not display either a common social "subsoil" or a unifying political design. Indeed, as individuals they seemed extremely diverse. Perhaps it may be said about some of them that they are among those offended by the president or who took offense at him for something that he did not give to or took away from them (here I mean O. Skokov and N. Fedorov).

But you cannot regard O. Poptsov among them, for example... It is something along the lines of "we came together by chance..." The only conclusion that is completely appropriate here is this: If you have no powerful ideological theorists, do not try to enter the political arena! It is a pathetic spectacle.

But the curtain stained crimson with the blood of the confrontations of the first days (and nights!) of October has now come down on all this and much else besides. For the first time since October 1917, when detachments of Reds gunned down Cadets and fired their cannon at the Kremlin, guns have boomed out in the center of Moscow (leaving aside ceremonial salutes, of course, because they are an exception. The salvoes of the Moscow antiaircraft guns in 1941 deserve a special mention).

That time the Bolsheviks had to smash the Russian state's main clock on the Spasskaya Tower to turn the hands of the clock of Russian history back for seven and a half decades. But that was not enough for them, and again they stepped over corpses on their way to power. This time in league with the fascists.

Now discernible, albeit timid, voices are being heard: The president made a mess of things with his Edict No. 1400 "On Stage-by-Stage Constitutional Reform." He terminated parliament's powers, carried out an unconstitutional coup... I have already had occasion to refute these accusations.

It was the Congress and the Supreme Soviet which tried to carry out a coup and usurp power, and they almost succeeded back in March 1993: They were a few votes short of impeaching the president with the blessing of the Constitutional Court. (Surely one of the Constitutional Court's few consistent actions was its inactivity with regard to the complaints of the democrat people's deputies that the Congress broke the law when it tried to oust the president. What might the court's reaction have been here after it broke the law itself and "in double-quick time" handed B. Yeltsin over to the "deputizing" retrogrades to tear him to pieces?!)

The Supreme Soviet (I cannot even bring myself to call it a parliament) in recent months became a collective violator of the law (that is what we called it in ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI on 28 September, and now we are calling it a collective criminal).

The laws and decrees (on the procedure for summing up the results of the referendum, on the radio and television, on privatization, on Sevastopol and so forth), followed one after another in direct contravention of the Constitution and previously adopted legislative acts. The articles of the Constitution on the procedure for impeaching the president were not enough for the people's deputies: They also adopted Article 121-6, a fine example of arbitrariness and at the same time an illustration of a thorough ignorance of the law. Imagine: Some rural soviet adopts a decision on corporal punishment for some citizens who have committed some offense. The president, as guarantor of individual and other rights, suspends the "activity" of this "lawfully elected organ of power" and immediately... he ceases to be president. A secretary cannot be dismissed from her job without written explanation. But the head of state can!

The electronic voting in the Supreme Soviet using the "one for seven" method (furthermore with an arbitrarily reduced quorum) can only be described as a flagrant, cynical, and lingering violation of the law. A violation committed before the eyes of the voters, the people, the world, and the judges of the Constitutional Court finally!

Was it not because the latter had overlooked this outrage committed upon the Standing Orders that it gave its blessing to quite a few decisions adopted despite the absence of the quorum required by law?!

But the prosecutor general is also a deputy (a former deputy now) and was in the same hall... Did he speak out against the deputies' act of self-abuse? No, he did not.

Then the president laid his hands on the usurper and rogue in the form of the Supreme Soviet. Many of lawyers let out all sorts of exclamations. "Expediency has again crushed legality..." Think about it, gentlemen!

If articles of the Constitution which undermine or make it possible to undermine the *the fundamentals of the constitutional system* are suspended, that is the only thing which someone who has sworn an oath on that fundamental law and in the name of that law is entitled to do and is obliged to do! After all, he wanted and tried to secure the passage of a new Constitution through that same Supreme Soviet, that same Congress, but they "sabotaged" it.

Here is an example to make it clear for the non-lawyers among you.

If a ship in a stormy ocean has a device built into it which is malfunctioning and threatening to destroy it and the passengers and crew with it, is the captain not entitled to switch it off? What is more, he is obliged to do so!

The Bolshevik "defenders of constitutional legality" should remember what Karl Marx wrote about an "unjust law," a law as a "positive sanction of lawlessness." That is what your fine Constitution is.

Meanwhile the latter-day Bolsheviks, unlike the Leninists, have not only turned into fascists but also have become illiterate.

Now for the events of 3-4 October. Assessments hard on the heels of events, as it were, have already been made. To cut a long story short: communo-fascism has again held a knife against Russia's heart and tried to take THE WORLD AND MANKIND [capitalized as published] by the throat: After all, there is a well-known "button" in the Kremlin!

Here I shall interrupt my account because I must make mention of Mikhail Gorbachev. On the Walpurgis Night of 3 to 4 October when all the witches (the Umalatovs and so forth) and vampires (the Makashovs and Achalovs) were holding an orgy, the father of the new political thinking raised his voice, urging the president **not to resort to force**. In other words, not to resist the murderers, violators, rabble rousers, and CPSU-ites! Mikhail Sergeyevich, once upon a time you and I studied together at Moscow State University Faculty of Law.

You graduated in 1955, I in 1956. Who convinced you that resisting a criminal is a bad thing whereas nonresistance and connivance at violence are good?!

Or has M.S. [Gorbachev] lost his common sense and grip on reality by failing to respond adequately to what is going on? When Mr. Gorbachev—a trained lawyer and economist—gave a lecture tour of countries in Latin America on the experience of the transition to the market economy (and he a man who, as we heard and saw, "recognized" the market but refused to recognize the institution of private property), we smiled. When the world "green movement" made Gorbachev one of its "grand masters," I personally did not find it funny. A man who had done everything possible—and in those days he could do everything—to hide from the people the real aftermath of Chernobyl... A man who deceived his beloved Soviet people and the world... Who together with his Politburo and Secretariat (this was always written with a capital letter) authorized the sale to the population of 200,000 (two hundred thousand) tonnes of meat contaminated with radiation ("having first removed the lymph nodes and washed in warm water"—I shall never forget those words until I die)... This man is the prime champion of an economically healthy future?! Back then they thought that the foreign "greens" had simply gone mad from eating food that was ecologically too clean. However, on 3 October Gorbachev passed the stage of the crank and the oddball, and joined the ranks of the "forgers." Not in the direct criminal law sense but politically and ethically—definitely! Mikhail Sergeyevich, what you did in 1985-1988 is historically immortal. Subsequently you ruined everything that you did. Is it not time to take a vacation? Your loud promises to "extend the Gorbachev era" no longer surprise people but inspire fear.

I want to end this article with the words "Long live the president! Long live the premier!" To be fair, time will make special mention of them. I promise that very soon I will talk about those people like M. Gorbachev who simply cannot adapt, get their bearings, or repent. Those who tolerate dishonesty... Those who make facile and short-sighted accusations ("the president has outlived his usefulness"—Travkin). Those who until the very last moments before the uprising urged the president to take the "zero option" and tried to push him toward "simultaneous elections."

We so often lash out and rebuke B.N. [Yeltsin] for his mistakes. Yet, to be fair, one can only be amazed that he does not make mistakes more often than he does, given that he resorts to the services of such advisers and counselors in a direct sense—certain members of the Presidential Council from the scientific fraternity. Meanwhile, more about that in the next article.

Anticipating the objections, let me remind you that it was not after the events of 3-4 October that I became so "wise and bold." I wrote the same thing about the "zero option" and simultaneous elections over a week ago. So let us try to get things clear. The night of the third to the fourth of the tenth month of the ninety-third year demands truth, calls for truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth.

Commentary Scores Former Deputies

PM1210154993 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 9 Oct 93 p 2

[Commentary under the "Regions" rubric by Viktor Kiryasov: "Choice Before Elections"]

[Text] Petrozavodsk—Why was it not possible to avert bloodshed? How should we citizens of Russia avoid fratricidal conflicts in the future?

There is much that needs to be recalled and analyzed before drawing conclusions. But our society should devote special attention to the activity of the current deputies' corps so as to commit as few mistakes as possible in the forthcoming elections.

...Shots had been fired in Moscow. Members of the Karelian parliament presidium called a press conference in order to—no, unfortunately, not to repent of the fact that they and the session as a whole throughout the week preceding bloody Sunday had stigmatized Yeltsin and his edict, paying no attention to the opinion of the majority of the republic's voters—but in order to once again "decipher" their point of view: to prove that Yeltsin "fired" first by demanding immediate talks between the opposing sides.

How should all this be understood?

At the aforementioned session the floor was taken time and again by V. Stepanov, chairman of the Karelian Supreme Soviet—incidentally, one of the most active speakers at the "White House" microphones. Evidently finally confused by the fanciful constructs of his own position, he irritably blurted out: "The mass media and today's democracy can make monkeys out of all of us."

Regarding the mass media, they are a mirror, as we know. But the remark about monkeys engenders some reflection. Remember the community of primates described in "The Jungle Book" by R. Kipling, who suggested with unshakable conviction that the community had only to wish it and "tomorrow the whole jungle will think the way the monkeys do today"?

Former speaker R. Khasbulatov was also of the conviction that, had the April referendum taken place three days later and had the pages of the newspapers, the radio airwaves, and the television screens been offered to him and his ilk during those three days, the results of the nationwide expression of will would have been directly opposite.

If only he had been the only one to think that way... That is the tragedy of our days, that the majority, albeit not an overwhelming majority, of deputies at all levels were also of this conviction. It is they who did not want the adoption of a fundamentally new Constitution that would correspond to the new Russian state and its society: They tried to deprive the people of the right to hold referenda, each time disregarding the opinion of the majority of the population—their electors.

Just where these people came from and who put this program into their heads—that is the question, a far from straightforward one. After all, they did not fall to us from the sky or come to us from America. They were ours, our homegrown deputies.

When Gorbachev's perestroyka began, much was said, as I recall, about the new task needing to be tackled by new people. The subsequent development of events increased the demand for new people still more. The old, tried and tested, CPSU-approved nomenklatura were disappearing and being replaced by people who, given the then existing system of "selection, allocation, and education of cadres," had very few chances of being promoted to the top elective or appointed positions. But their ambitions bided their time, and their time came. The majority of them had no moral or ethical cut-off mechanisms, and the threat of being made to turn in their party card had forever faded into the past.

When the old nomenklatura was in power it was feared, people tried to ingratiate themselves with it and envied it. But when they received permission for freedom and glasnost they rushed to overthrow and expose it, and thereby win popularity.

Many of the "new men" were not party members; hence, or for some other reason, the quota system did not extend to them. But the education of all of them for over 70 years had been one and the same:

"There are no fortresses which the Bolsheviks have not taken," "there is no such word as impossible," "no one is irreplaceable" (except for me, the favorite)—these and other postulates of the recent past successfully crossed into the present.

Very energetic in promoting themselves and becoming deputies, these new figures differed very little from the old ones—from the party and state nomenklatura. Except that they were characterized by populism to a far greater degree. The doctor promised the revolution recovery without fail, the engineer—a technical revolution, the builder—roads to the rayon center, the librarian—a book depot, the kolkhoz chairman or the rayon party committee secretary—local communism, and the "green" pledged to save the pond from pollution or the scrap of forest from the ax.

And so these people got the upper hand in the deputies' corps. Their promises mostly proved unfulfillable, indeed the deputies quickly forgot about them.

On the other hand, their conviction that tomorrow all voters would think the way deputies think today in time became more and more unshakable. And some became giddy from the apparent ease of Yeltsin's political victories. The conviction gradually took root that they had only to summon a rally, to call on the people and promise them all manner of good things, and the prime minister's job was as good as theirs. And precious few of them in this understood that the phenomenon of Yeltsin, for all his purely human weaknesses and shortcomings, which he does does not especially conceal, not concerning himself about the fact that they are used against him, lies in his exceptional political intuition and ability to evaluate the situation accurately, in his tremendous courage and decisiveness, and in his ability to operate unerringly in extreme conditions. This, unfortunately, is somthing that neither Gorbachev, nor the putschists of the August 1991-type, nor the ringleaders of October's bloody revolt understood.

I remember my own behavior and that of like-minded comrades during the election campaign and the actual election of the current deputies' corps. We were passive: We did not participate in the campaign for the reason that we did not like the "new" deputy candidates. During the vote we crossed all their names out. However, there were few of us, and there were far more people who believed the phrasemongers.

The result is now known. A new election campaign has begun. This time we should make no mistake.

Necessity of 'Dictatorship' Evaluated

PM1210141793 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 9 Oct 93 p 1

[Vladimir Sungorkin article under the general heading "An Attempt to Forecast... and Clarify": "What Lies Ahead?"]

[Text] Russia is running at full tilt toward dictatorship.

Or rather, Moscow is. And this enormous country, standing to attention, listens carefully to the texts of the edicts pouring forth onto the heads of the multitude from the Kremlin cornucopia, and it glimpses the new realities.

Meanwhile the Soviets are being dissolved: semivoluntarily in some places, through blatant persecution in others, and under pressure from the "revolutionary patrols" in yet others. Censorship has been lifted, but the press has been warned that if anything crops up an entire print run may be scrapped—although this will cost a little more than the coquettish and openly self-proclamatory blank patches in a successfully published article which has gotten as far as the reader. The state of emergency, it is promised, will be extended, as will the curfew.

I believe that these measures are being undertaken not so much for reasons of safety from yesterday's gunmen, but so as to accustom the population—first and foremost the disgruntled section of it—to the concept of the danger of opposing the authorities, and to get the people used to the state-of-emergency era dawning within the country.

I understand that I am inviting a charge at the very least of misrepresentation of the facts, provocation, and rabble-rousing here. Indeed, it may well be possible suddenly to start bandying words about civil war that calmly. But no, it is not composure I am displaying there. I am simply saving on newsprint: In the last few days, tonnes of ink and reams of paper have been wasted describing the horrors which occurred during Sunday and Monday's dress rehearsal. I myself had my fill of crawling in the gutters near "Ostankino."

And this is what I caught myself thinking upon finding myself slammed up against the concrete wall of a Krasnaya Presnya residential block face to face with an unshaven OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] trooper: This is by no means a spontaneous fight—somewhere in the sun-drenched morning skies above us, the very same development spiral about which we learned once at university has doubled back on itself. In 1905, on these very same cobblestones, the beautiful and romantic Soviet idea was conceived through barricades and artillery fire, whereas now these beautiful historical ellipses, rather than continue to bypass each other as they ascend, have suddenly joined together—it is my belief that this is because for the past decade we in Russia have, as far as we could, confused and complicated history itself, we have defied its laws, and so it backfired—and as the power of history roars so the tanks open fire, the smoke billows, the flames roar, and sparks fly... like tracer bullets.

I will risk enunciating an unpopular thought: Russia is doomed to pass through yet another era of authoritarianism if it wants to remain a great power. And this era is beginning now. No state in history has managed to conduct reforms successfully under the total and wholesale boom in democracy that developed in every possible way in Russia after 1985. Ivan Kalita, Ivan the Terrible, Peter the Great, and Stolypin were anything but democrats, but it is under these leaders that Russia became Russia and achieved the greatest successes of its thousand-year recorded history. It is not worth looking here for the specifics of an ill-fated people allegedly pining for a firm hand and unable to live without a father-figure. Korea, Taiwan, and Japan only managed to revive their economies under tough police regimes, and only after having done so, "allowed" such niceties as a parliament and an opposition, even in places permitting a plaything as dangerous in terms of volatility as a communist party. If these examples smack somewhat of an "Asian specific," then you know Germany too rose up from spiritual Nazi ruins to economic revolution under the strict control of American occupying troops, and even the United States itself only became the champion of democracy 30 years ago.

No, I am not calling for a communist pogrom, or a law on eligibility for public office (in which case, there would be nobody at all in office in our rayon centers), and I am opposed to the popularization of the famous slogan: "Wipe out the vermin!" I am merely trying to explain (to myself, perhaps, for a start) that we are at a quite different stage of development from America, that Sunday's nighttime appeals from young yet very serious-minded pundits for "everybody to go home and sleep" are, alas, no good if the guys really want to continue to be some kind of spiritual shepherds to a lost society.

You should not envy Yeltsin: The people who arrived on a wave of "democratization" also tried to implement reforms—it would be more correct to say a change of social order—purely through peaceful means. This is tantamount to having left the czar in power with his capitalist aides in 1917, installing Red Guard detachments in their palaces and offices, and suggesting in all seriousness that both sides live peacefully in these communes and not argue.

Up to now in our country, Gogol-style renditions of the September-October conflict have been popular: Character "B" insulted character "A" through his actions and words, or character "X" would not let character "Y" take what was his... In actual fact, history itself in full accordance with its laws led to the armed conflict.

To attempt a forecast for the coming months: I see new restrictions on democratic freedoms (reinforcement will be commensurate with the increase in confrontation), and the introduction of censorship for the most accessible sources of information—not always direct, but through more insidious methods: through the economy, through administrative changes of jurisdiction. There will be some (possibly unheralded) measures of support from the Army and other power structures. I do not think that Yeltsin's presidential election will take place 12 June—the newly elected Duma will ask for and get a postponement. Around 80 percent of the newly elected parliament will be objective supporters of government policy: the managers of privatized plants, major entrepreneurs, higher representatives of the presidential "court"...—others simply will not manage to "push through" their candidates. This, of course, will be a very "one-sided" parliament, and we can safely say that we can expect a less than exemplary year in terms of morals.

But any other scenario will be worse, because the president is rescuing reform. Only in the shade of a state of emergency and the most rigid authority can there be any success in stabilizing inflation, fueled mainly by the populist decisions of pro-Soviet structures, which have not and will not lead to any improvement in the people's existence but which, like a drug, dull the pain of reform and, again like a drug, are ultimately fatal. Prices will go up, and there is no longer any force in nature that might spare us the "evil" of reforms. Either we bring the economy into line with world boundaries, or the nation will expire under the debris of kolkhozes and rolling mills. This economic catastrophe can now be observed in fraternal Ukraine: There, to the letter, all the dreams and intentions of economists and politicians acting in opposition to the Russian Government are being implemented. In point of fact, in September—by dissolving parliament—all the most grandiose and well-meaning decisions of parliament on the "Ukrainization" of the Russian economy were also smashed. Yes indeed, imminent, alas unavoidable, structural changes in the economy will push unemployment up. And unless firm authority is guaranteed in Russia for this period (even if it stretches over a couple of year) a series of uprisings is inevitable, along with the breakaway of the regions—that is, the collapse of Russia—and again, as in a nightmare, dictatorship. World class experts Gaydar and Boris

Fedorov will be proclaimed cannibals, Yeltsin will be seen as Satan, and everything will again be plunged into eternal damnation.

The country faces a choice: either to support Yeltsin, who in his new role has done some unpleasant and less than glamorous work. (Public opinion, in my view, is to a large extent not on the president's side right now—he is seen as stupid not to have been able to arrange things a little better.) Or else in about four months' time someone like our dear Yavlinskiy, popular and not involved in adopting any kinds of decisions, will arrive, and in five or six months there will be fresh irritation, a quest for a way to feed 160 million starving people with five loaves, massacres and smoke above the newly repaired "White House."

It seems to me that in the existing circumstances the government must appeal directly and honestly to the people with a stage-by-stage economic program for emerging from crisis, and for the sake of this program request emergency powers: By December we promise to halt inflation, by March we promise a functioning system of social protection for the unemployed (which is cheaper than keeping moribund industrial monsters afloat), and by July we promise to stop the slump in production.

Many have spent time in the very same rut in which we now find ourselves. And many have scrambled out of it. In people's heads a civil war is now going on: So whose side are you on?

Democracy is desperately sought, but nobody has ever clawed their way out of crisis under multicolored banners, or hand in hand with a populous, vocal opposition fired up by rally cries. Let's get out of the crisis first, then we can hold rallies.

Note: These remarks were written in haste. Their vulnerability is obvious. Extremist emotions are dangerous: They contain many temptations for tyranny by the people in power. Prohibitions and restrictions on free speech are dangerous. Likewise, the absence of opposition to the regime is dangerous, but Russia has tried every other means time and again. We are all inside a historical wheel—and it is damned inconvenient when it turns suddenly only to hit a pothole yet again, hindering thought on a higher level.

'Political Games' With Lenin Mausoleum Issue Protested

PM1210124393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 8 Oct 93 p 1

[Nikita Vaynonen report: "We Bury Our Dead. We Bury Our Illusions"]

[Text] Yesterday Moscow bid its dead farewell. No doubt many people found it hard not to draw a distinction between those who were on the two different sides of the barricades. It is hard... But if we are not able to raise ourselves to that level, then once again we will have class hatred, once again we will have the nightmare in which we have lived for almost the entire 20th century. Because this is a question of either one or the other. We have buried Russia's children! That is what we will always remember. The president is absolutely right when he said this in his address to his fellow countrymen.

Sometimes the motherland may grant pardon to culprits too, those who should stand before a court. Sometimes... but not today. This is not just a question of specific individuals, inciting the crowd, playing on the dark instincts and genuine delusion of people who have lived in a Bolshevik empire for most of their lives. This is a question of a dreadful mentality confused by a schizophrenic displacement of the concepts of good and evil, national slavery and happiness. This is deceit! It is an illusion! This is what the soldiers, "measuring out their pace" on the paving stones, have defended for decades.

The guard of honor outside the Lenin Mausoleum was on duty from 1600 hours 27 January 1924 to 1600 hours 6 October 1993. We swore our allegiance to love of peace, but guarded the leader's body with bayonets. First of all with three-edged bayonets, and then with flat ones. We did not even hear the voice of reason when it finally managed to penetrate the silence of the slaves and proposed that the body should be buried in a decent Christian way. People whistled and they hushed in disapproval...

New games are now afoot: To remove the sentry, but to protect the body. To transfer the guards to the tomb of the Unknown Soldier. He is unknown, so you cannot ask him whether he agrees to this "succession." A high-ranking official objected on his behalf, but only for reasons of seniority, as far as one can judge: The commandant of the Kremlin does not have the right to do this, he said. But who does have the right? Who at all, and according to what table of ranks, is permitted to treat symbols of the national awareness in such a petty and talentless way? The man who lies here personifies the most tragic, the most terrible period in Russia's history. His body should have been buried long ago. Without remembering the evil, in a good, Christian way. This will appease our souls. And the soul of Vladimir Ulyanov, who was tortured, I am sure, by inhuman tortures of the conscience. Organizing political games around the mausoleum—for example saying that the Communists should be "deprived of their symbol" and so forth—means to carry on blaspheming.

Court To Summon Prominent Figures to 1991 Coup Trial

LD1210111993 Moscow ITAR-TASS English 1100 GMT 12 Oct 93

[By CRIME PRESS correspondent Nikolay Semenenko for TASS]

[Text] Moscow, October 12 (TASS)—The military collegium of the Russian Supreme Court today ruled that a request be met for summoning Moscow's former Mayor Gavriil Popov, who is now one of the leaders of the Democratic Russia Movement, Moscow's present Mayor

Yuriy Luzhkov, former Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR Yuriy Maslyukov and some specialists in the field of the government communication service to testify before the court trying the case of the August 1991 coup plotters.

The court declined as untimely a request that President Boris Yeltsin, former Secretary of State Gennadiy Burbulis, former Procurator-Generals of the Russian Federation Nikolay Trubin and Valentin Stepankov be summoned as additional witnesses in the case. Also declined was a request to hear some prosecutors and journalists.

At this moment, the judges are conferring in a separate room to decide whether Dmitriy Komar, Ilya Krichevsky and Vladimir Usov, who died in defence of the White House building in the clashes in August 1991, should be recognised as civil suitors in the case, and whether the Defence Ministry be recognised as a defendant since it owned "the sources of heightened danger", i.e. armoured vehicles which were brought into Moscow at that time.

Every family of the late defenders of democracy claimed one million rubles in preliminary damages. The lawyer for the families, Vladimir Livshits, said the amount can later be increased in line with inflation.

The defendants and their lawyers, in turn, requested that the Moscow mayor's office should also be charged in this case with creating conditions which resulted in the death of people.

Trial Adjourned One Day

LD1310105193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0626 GMT 13 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Belskiy]

[Text] Moscow October 13 TASS—The trial of the August 1991 coup plotters has been adjourned for a day because Valentin Pavlov's lawyer Aleksey Galoganov failed to turn up for the hearings on Wednesday [13 October]. The court was told Galoganov was unable to reach Moscow from Ivanovo, northeast of Moscow in time.

Court chairman, Lieutenant-General Anatoliy Ukolov announced that the court would have to work in accordance with packed schedule in continuing the trial.

FITUR Suspends Political Activities

LD1210160593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1204 GMT 12 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS freelance correspondent Vladimir Yegorov]

[Text] Moscow October 12 TASS—The federation of Russia's independent trade unions [FITUR] stops its interaction with political parties, social and political movements and organizations, and the personnel stops working at their elective bodies until a decision on these issues have been adopted by the presidium, a plenary meeting or a congress of the independent trade unions federation, said Vasiliy Romanov, acting chairman of the federation at a meeting of the personnel. The main task of the federation is to protect socio-economic rights and interests of the working people.

Election Issues

Ryabov Comments on Procedures, Funding for Elections

LD1310092993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1835 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Interview with Nikolay Ryabov, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, by Yevgeniy Fateyev; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Fateyev] Nikolay Timofeyevich. Yesterday's presidential decree declaring elections not only to the State Duma but to the Federation Council as well seems greatly to have complicated the situation in your Central Electoral Commission and for the election campaign as a whole.

[Ryabov] Yes. I would like to say to our electorate that what we have to do now is elect a full-blooded parliament. The name of this parliament is the Federal Assembly. It consists of two chambers: the upper chamber, the Federation Council, which is now, by presidential decree, to be elected, and the lower chamber, the State Duma, to which we began to prepare for elections on 21 September 1993. When the president issued his decree on 21 September, he was assuming that it was possible for the Federation Council, comprising the leaders of representative and executive bodies of power, to exist for the transitional period, but subsequent events sharply changed the political picture in the country. Many soviets dissolved themselves, some soviets could not get a quorum together, and so we can't talk about a full representation of Federation components by their most senior officials. Thus, the president adopted a most correct decision: for the population to elect the upper chamber, the Federation Council, as well, just as we had planned to elect the State Duma. We've only got just enough time, of course. As a result we won't be redrawing anything radical in the electoral system. This decision has been made: to elect two deputies from each of the subjects of the Federation to the Federation Council, that is the upper chamber, irrespective of whether it's a large oblast or a thinly populated oblast, or a large republic, or a small republic, or an autonomous okrug—two deputies each. In other words, one two-seat constituency is being created in each subject of the Federation.

How will we extract ourselves from the situation connected with the formation of constituencies? Where only one constituency has been created on the territory of a subject of the Federation—and that's 35 subjects with small populations—there, this very same constituency, that same constituency electoral commission, will organize elections to the upper chamber. Where more than one constituency has been created on the territory of a subject, two, three, six, eight—depending on the size of the population—one of the constituencies for elections to the lower chamber will be vested with the power of constituency for the whole of that subject of the Federation for elections to the upper chamber, for the election of these two deputies.

[Fateyev] Nikolay Timofeyevich, who has the right to nominate candidates?

[Ryabov] This clause is just being prepared and the Commission does not yet have this clause, but it is the population which will nominate these candidates.

[Fateyev] It's not yet clear what the system will be.

[Ryabov] It seems that we will determine—we'll see—probably, we will similarly determine that signatures of no less than 1 percent of the population must be collected in order to be proposed as a candidate.

[Fateyev] I would like to ask you the following question. The president's decree yesterday—did he take you personally and the whole of the Central Electoral Commission by surprise or did he agree this with you in advance?

[Ryabov] No, one should not say that he took us unawares. This issue was agreed upon. In spite of the fact that our work is becoming more complicated, all the members of the Commission were completely satisfied, because it is much more democratic to elect parliament rather than appoint it. Therefore, the duties of the members of the Central Commission are completely in keeping with the purpose of that Commission. Whereas formerly we were dealing with the problems of electing the lower chambers alone and were not in general responsible for the formation of the upper chamber, each of us did not feel quite happy in these circumstances. Now, although the task has become more complicated and there is hardly any time, the attitude of the commission members to it was not simply one of understanding, but one of approval.

I would like to mention yet another element, the fact that one figure was not quite correctly broadcast by the mass media: 170 billion rubles, that is the sum allotted for all the elections, both to the lower and to the upper chamber—that is, to the individual chambers.

[Fateyev] (?It includes everything)?

[Ryabov] Yes, of the Federal Assembly, and not only the lower chambers. Naturally, the sum is a very large one, but it has been calculated sufficiently thoroughly, and the greater part of that sum, more than 95 percent will go to the territories, where the deputies will be directly elected. Owing to the fact that the Central Electoral Commission will be organizing not only the elections, but will itself essentially be organizing the elections of the 225 deputies to the common federal constituency, to the lower chamber, considerable funds are needed here, of course.

[Fateyev] It is worth mentioning that initially, under the original presidential decree, heads of the constituent parts of the Russian Federation—of the representative and executive power—were given those comfortable chairs in the Federation Council automatically. Now it appears that they are not even allowed to apply for this because, if they are elected on the federal level, they will not be able to hold leading posts in their krays or republics.

[Ryabov] Exactly, you are quite right.

[Fateyev] Is this not an encroachment on their rights?

[Ryabov] I think that the election of a deputy to the Federation Council means that the deputy should resign from all other posts where he is paid for his work, except teaching and research posts and other forms of creative work. This sphere of activities can be combined with a deputy's work. Administrative jobs such as, for example, that of a local administration chief are incompatible with a deputy's mandate. I think this is fair. Since we are talking of a professional parliament, since we are talking of a parliament working on a permanent basis, it is perhaps inadmissible that a deputy should hold a position in some executive structure and at the same time act as a lawmaker.

[Fateyev] I expect this point of the decree was received without much enthusiasm in the localities—at least by the heads of the constituent parts of the Federation?

[Ryabov] I wouldn't say so. It was received with understanding. At any rate, the telephone calls and meetings I have had in the last two days show that both the leaders of the executive and the chairmen of the soviets have received this fact with understanding. After all, the overwhelming majority of leaders is concerned not with their own time-serving considerations, but with Russia's destiny. It is not possible for Russia to exist as a democratic state without a legislative body formed on a democratic, professional basis. You can talk as much as you like about democracy, about a law-based state, about civilized forms of existence, but without institutions which have been tested over centuries—such as legislative power, such as the president—it is impossible to create such a statehood, to strengthen it, to make our state mighty and respected .

[Fateyev] Nikolay Timofeyevich, here is my final question. Before this presidential decree was issued many people were very doubtful whether it would be possible hold the elections on 12 December as it was only two months away. Now, is this date not in doubt?

[Ryabov] On my desk I have a timetable on which everything is written out, day by day. The Central Electoral Commission has its place in this extremely tight timetable. We do not see any other date and we do not wish to look for one. It has been specified by the decree. All the people know it and we are preparing the electoral commission precisely for 12 December.

Gives Details on Electoral Districts

PM1210122993 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 12 Oct 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "The Price of Democracy Is 160 Billion Rubles"]

[Text] Virtually all the regions of Russia have confirmed their readiness to take part in the State Duma elections. The sole exception is the Chechen Republic, although work in preparation for the elections is also being conducted on its territory, Central Electoral Commission Chairman Nikolay Ryabov reported to a session of the commission on 10 October.

The number of single-seat electoral districts for the State Duma election confirmed at the commission session was 225: 15 in Moscow city; 10 in Moscow Oblast; eight in St. Petersburg; seven in Krasnoyarsk Kray, Sverdlovsk Oblast, and a number of other components; six in Bashkortostan and a number of other components; five in Tatarstan and Samara Oblast; and so forth.

There will be one electoral district apiece in Mordovia, Buryatia, Tuva, Kalmykia, Chechen, Ingushetia, Sakha, Mari El, and the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug.

The Central Electoral Commission has ratified an election expenditure estimate of 150-160 billion rubles .

Parties, Organizations Submit Candidate Lists

LD1210180893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1424 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] A political party or public group or association is expected to win at least 5 percent of the vote on a federal list to qualify for seats in the State Duma (the lower house of Russia's new parliament, the Federal Assembly), Sergey Korovinskikh of the Central Election Commission told INTERFAX. He said the 5 percent limit amounted to 11 seats in the Duma.

The commission official said LDP [Liberal Democratic Party] leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy was the first party leader to have asked for clarifying the details of the coming election last Friday [8 October] and provided a list of party candidates on Tuesday [12 October]. The LDP's list will be verified in twenty-four hours and a copy will be sent back to help it start a signature-collecting campaign in the run up to the ballot.

As many as 100,000 signatures must be collected in seven Russian regions to qualify, but no more than 15 percent of that amount can be collected in one region.

Other parties applying for clarification include the Christian Democrats, the Youth Union of the Democratic Party of Russia and the Federation of Independent Trade Unions, Korovinskikh said. He put the maximum number of candidates allowed on a party list at 270. The registration campaign is to end on November 6.

Commission Official Comments

LD1210184093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1458 GMT 12 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow October 12 TASS—"All the election associations are to submit to the Central Election Commission their lists of candidates to the State Duma from political parties, public unions and their blocks before November 7. Properly drawn up applications by electors, corroborated by the consent of nominees to take part in the election race, must be attached to the lists. The latter must be registered and officially published not later than five days after they are submitted to the Central Election Commission. They cannot be changed after that," ITAR-TASS was told by lawyer Valeriy Krasnyanskiy, member of the working team for relations with public associations, set up under the Central Election Commission.

The team "has immediately felt the impact of the vigorous efforts of parties, wishing to submit federal lists of candidates", the lawyer said. A half of the 225 seats in the Lower House of the Russian Federal Assembly is to be held by deputies, elected on the basis of the so-called proportional system from federal constituencies. The lists of candidates are to be drawn up by election associations comprising federal parties and political movements, whose rules have been registered at the Russian Justice Ministry, or blocs of associations, set up for the time of the elections. "The rules of the associations must indicate that they have the right to nominate candidates to legislative bodies," Krasnyanskiy specified.

"Many movements of various orientations, including socialists, have applied to the working team for consultations concerning the election campaign. No Communist-type parties have asked for advice so far. This refers to the banned associations, too," he stated. The Movement for Democratic Reforms plans to submit its list of nominees shortly. No other democrats have so far applied to the team.

"The associations, which are well organised and have regional branches, have more chances to get the right to take part the election campaign by collecting 100,000 signatures, necessary to register their federal lists," he believes. The "Democratic Russia" Movement has branches in almost all the regional centres. "Therefore," Krasnyanskiy stated, "its job will be much easier. However, neither this association, nor the 'Russia's's Option' movement, have so far applied to the Central Election commission."

Justice Ministry Lists Election Participants

LD1210224193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1942 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] The RF [Russian Federation] Justice Ministry has compiled a list of parties and public organizations which may participate in nominating their candidates, in accordance with the provision on elections, to the State Duma. The list contains 91 parties and associations. This list could still grow because other organizations, if their activity corresponds to the law, can also be registered. Interfax has received this information from Deputy Justice Minister Vladimir Kuzmin in his exclusive interview with the agency.

Kuzmin noted that only election associations can propose candidates for deputies on the all-federal election list and groups of citizens and electoral associations—on one-mandate constituencies. Election associations, he emphasized, become the major form to nominate candidates for elections.

An all-federal party or political movement, whose charter is registered in the Justice Ministry, can become an election association. As of today there are already 28 such parties and 7 political movements.

As Kuzmin pointed out, there is a third category of all-federal public associations which cannot come out independently as an election association, however, they have the right to join other blocs created by other parties and movements. In this case they should meet two provisions: their charter should be registered in the Justice Ministry and the charter should contain a provision on participation in elections. If there are no such records, this public association cannot join a bloc. As of today 56 associations have been already registered which have the right to form a bloc with other associations.

Kuzmin disagrees with the claim that the Justice Ministry has suspended the activity of all opposition parties and movements. He underlined that the list of those admitted to the elections contain organizations of communist and pro-communist orientation as well.

"When we considered the issue to suspend the activity of political parties and movements we did not examine their attitude towards the existing course (political—Interfax). We took into consideration whether they violated their own charters or laws of the Russian Federation which ban political organizations from participating in coercive actions," noted Kuzmin.

The deputy minister voiced the supposition that the suspension of activity of 10 parties would last over the whole period of the state of emergency and during the investigation of cases connected with the tragic events on October 3-4 in Moscow. In his words, if their involvement in these events is established and reconfirmed, then there can appear the issue of liquidation of these parties.

At the same time Kuzmin made the supposition that the parties whose activity has been suspended may still participate in the December elections if they re-name their organizations and introduce changes into their charter. In this case, the deputy minister said, the Justice Ministry will be forced to consider the issue of registration of such a party and on its participation in the elections.

[Later in the same cast, INTERFAX adds: "One more organization, the All-Russia Society of Invalids, headed by Alexander Lomakin, has been added to the list of political organizations allowed to take part in the forthcoming election to the Federal Assembly.

"Altogether 92 organizations have so far been put on the list, approved by the Justice Ministry, a ministry spokesman told Interfax."]

Two Communist Parties Included

LD1210213193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in Russian 1829 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] Moscow October 12 TASS - Two tiny communist parties might be okayed to participate in the upcoming parliamentary elections, according to a preliminary list of 91 political parties filed by the Justice Ministry.

The two include the Russian Party of Communists and the "Union of Communists" party.

The list of parties "whose charters envisage a possibility of participation in elections into federal legislative bodies" also includes the youth movement in support of the People's Party of Free Russia.

The party itself, of which former vice-president Aleksandr Rutskoy was honourary chairman, was banned after the armed opposition rebellion in Moscow.

"The Civic Union" bloc of which Rutskoy's party was a member is also on the list.

The list includes such major democratic organisations as the Russian Movement of Democratic Reforms an the "Democratic Russia" movement.

Parties, Movements Prepare Slates for Elections

MK1210144293 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 12 Oct 93 p 3

[Yekaterina Deynego report under the "Parties Before Elections" rubric: "Democratic Parties Fail To Share Out Grigoriy Yavlinskiy"]

[Text] Russia's political parties and movements are holding active consultations on creating election blocs and nominating their candidates. On 9 October the Russian Democratic Reforms Movement held a press conference. According to its leader Gavriil Popov, the movement will participate in the elections on its own, with the number one candidate on its ticket being St. Petersburg Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak. Shortly before that Mr. Sobchak had announced his intention to run as an independent candidate and, according to some reports, he has even invited EPI-Center leader Grigoriy Yavlinskiy to team up with him in an election bloc.

Democratic parties have failed to come to agreement on creating a single election bloc. In addition to the "Russia's Choice" bloc, formed by presidential team members and Vice Premiers Yegor Gaydar and Vladimir Shumeyko, Federal Information Center Chairman Mikhail Poltoranin, and others, Gavriil Popov's Russian Democratic Reforms Movement, the "August" bloc incorporating Konstantin Borovoy's Economic Freedom Party, and a small party of Constitutional Democrats under Viktor Zolotarev intend to contest the December elections as independent entities. Furthermore, a small Russian Christian Democratic Party and also the Social Democratic Party and the Republican Party, which will possibly form a bloc, are going to take part.

The signs are that democratic blocs and parties are experiencing a shortage of candidates. At any rate, the Russian Democratic Reforms Movement and the Social Democratic Party have claimed EPI-Center leader Grigoriy Yavlinskiy. Moreover, representatives of both parties told your KOMMERSANT-DAILY correspondent that Yavlinskiy has already been officially included in the list among the first three candidates. Prior to that the Entrepreneurs for a New Russia bloc considered Yavlinskiy to be their candidate.

Since the activity of the majority of opposition parties and movements has been suspended, the question of whether opposition supporters will be able to vote for "their" candidates remains open. Possibly, some of them will support the centrists who are now creating two main blocs. The first is being formed on the basis of the All-Russian Renewal Union and the Entrepreneurs for a New Russia bloc. The organizers of this bloc are strongly counting on the support of big banking capital. The first three candidates on the list of this association will apparently be Arkadiy Volskiy, Konstantin Zatulin, and Aleksandr Vladislavlev.

Within the next few days the second centrist election bloc, being created on the basis of major industrial associations, may make itself heard. The "Accord for Progress" committee is expected to take part in it. The bloc's founders hope that they will manage to attract the moderately patriotic forces, in particular the Union for Russia's Revival, and also the moderate left—the Socialist Workers' Party.

[Article is accompanied by the following boxed passage]

Parties and organizations which have declared their readiness to contest the elections before 12 October

President's supporters:

The "Russia's Choice" bloc (Sergey Yushenkov, Vladimir Shumeyko)

The "August" bloc (Konstantin Borovoy, Viktor Zolotarev)

The Social Democratic Party (Anatoliy Golov)

The Russian Christian Democratic Party (Aleksandr Chuyev)

The Russian Democratic Reforms Movement (Gavriil Popov)

The centrists:

"Alternative" (tentative name) (Dmitriy Rogozin, Yuriy Skokov)

"Civil Peace" (tentative name) (Konstantin Zatulin)

The Russian Democratic Party (Nikolay Travkin)

The opposition:

The Russian Liberal Democratic Party (Vladimir Zhirinovskiy)

The Russian Christian Democratic Movement (Viktor Aksyuchits)

Banned Parties Intend To Field Candidates

MK1210145393 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 64, 12 Oct 93 (signed to press 11 Oct) p 2

[Dmitriy Kuznets, Yelena Tregubova report under the "Out of Grace" rubric: "Opposition Parties Have Been Banned But They Do Not Lose Hope of Contesting Elections on Their Own Tickets"]

[Text] According to Valentin Kuptsov, a member of the Russian Federation Communist Party [RFCP] Central Executive Committee Presidium, the "RFCP has been banned in order to ensure the victory of the pro-Yeltsin forces in the elections." The president is hardly making a secret of his wish to have a "tame" parliament. By raising the proportional representation quota in the State Duma to 50 percent and dissolving the main opposition organizations, he has considerably approached this objective. A particularly serious move in this direction has been the decision to suspend the activity of the RFCP (the "Zyuganov party") and the Free Russia People's Party (the "Rutskoy party") which, according to preliminary estimates, were capable of gathering nearly the entire opposition electorate.

This was not announced until 8 October—two days after the report came out on suspending other organizations that had taken part in the revolt. The press service of the Russian Ministry of Justice affirmed that this was caused "not by vacillations—whether or not to close these parties—but by a delay in transmitting the information." According to Justice Ministry press service officers, the temporary ban on the activity of the RFCP and the Free Russia People's Party was imposed already on 6 October, "based on materials made available by the prosecutor's office which show that these organizations took part in the illegal actions on 3 and 4 October."

Under the provisions of Article 22 of the Law on the State of Emergency, a temporary ban may be applied only during the period of the emergency, but officials in the Ministry of Justice believe that the Rutskoy and Zyuganov parties may be abolished through a judicial ruling once the extent of their involvement in the red mutiny has been established.

Nonetheless, in spite of such statements from lawyers, on 7 October Central Election Commission Chairman Nikolay Ryabov included the RFCP on the list of organizations that may contest elections to the State Duma. The Justice Ministry press service failed to comment on this fact.

The fact, however, remains that the parties' bank accounts have been frozen and their activity suspended, which makes their participation in the upcoming elections impossible.

The banning of these organizations does not, however, eliminate the million strong corps of opposition voters. Whereas the problems of the democracy and legitimacy of the elections in this situation do not particularly bother Boris Yeltsin, the danger that the communist electorate will still manage to vote on a ticket of one of the red parties cannot but worry him. Especially considering that the "average communist" makes no distinction between the organizations of "consistent Leninists" that have spawned recently.

The Socialist Workers Party under Roy Medvedev may well include RFCP members into its ticket. Valentin Kuptsov has also expressed an intention to "make it through other parties." It is impossible to ban them all.

According to some reports, Nikolay Travkin also intends to help his colleagues from the "Rutskoy party" by including them on the federal ticket from the Russian Democratic Party. However, even if the Free Russia People's Party gets a chance to contest the elections, without the former vice president it will not earn particular glory at the polling booths—especially if it renounces him, which the party's newly created provisional council headed by former People's Deputy Adrov is going to do.

Divisions Within 'Russia's Choice' Highlighted

MK1210111793 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 64, 12 Oct 93 (signed to press 11 Oct) p 2

[Mikhail Lantsman report under the "Campaign" rubric: "Petr Filippov Suggests a Cook Be Replaced by an Accountant"]

[Text] In a situation that has changed drastically after the putsch (with the radical anti-presidential opposition on its way out), the "Russia's Choice" election bloc, set up by Yegor Gaydar even before 21 September, has, in the view of most experts, the most solid chances of winning a majority in the future State Duma. Petr Filippov, director of the Russian presidential administration's analytical center and one of the bloc's leaders, confirmed to your SEGODNYA correspondent with characteristic modesty that "we are unlikely to win more than 50 percent of the seats."

Serious conceptual differences, however, have emerged among the bloc's leaders over the composition of the federal election list. The faction that stands behind Mr. Filippov plans to carry out its plan whereby the parliament should be converted into a legislative factory with technological subunits characteristic of factory production. Parliamentary committees and commissions will operate as such subunits, while plenary meetings will act as an assembly line.

In Mr. Filippov's view, the election list should be made up of narrow specialists in all areas of legislative activity—lawyers, economists, accountants, tax inspectors, and so forth. He believes that the top three to four lines in the list should be reserved for politicians of stature to attract the voters. Filippov's group has already selected 130 candidates from executive bodies and the business and scientific communities. The selection was done through the so-called "confidential chain" [doveritelnaya tsepochka].

The factory approach to forming the deputy corps, however, has met with serious resistance from Democratic Russia. The Democratic Russians insist that deputy seats should be occupied by politicians who have in practice shown their commitment to the course toward radical democratic reform. In order to make up for professionalism, experts should be invited. Mr. Filippov, for his part, believes that it is professionals who should control the voting buttons. "A female accountant from a commercial business will be of much more use to the country than a democrat who is only able to stick to leaflets."

The upcoming weekend will see the "Russia's Choice's" election conference. It cannot be ruled out that the Democratic Russians will compile their own election list afterward.

Parties' Election Prospects Assessed

MK1210120193 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 64, 12 Oct 93 (signed to press 11 Oct) p 2

[Dmitriy Volkov report under the "Elections" rubric: "A Chance to Elect an Unpopular Parliament. Presidential Supporters Can Count on Majority of Seats in State Duma"]

[Text] The upcoming December elections for the State Duma—the lower house of the Federal Assembly—apparently cannot answer the question about which of the currently existing political parties reflects the interests of considerable groups of the population. The opportunities for waging the election campaign, despite the guarantees inscribed in the election regulations, and of access to the mass media for all registered participants in the election campaign will probably be substantially limited for a number of political groupings. Changes in Russia's political spectrum in these conditions are unavoidable.

One should expect serious success for the "official" political blocs—the "Russia's Choice" coalition, which is actually a party of Yegor Gaydar's team, and the "Democratic Russia" movement which, to all appearances, will be able to introduce some diversity in the "official" election platform by virtue of its implacability toward its opponents and a large dose of populism. Anatoliy Chubays, who serves as both head of the State Committee for the Management of State Property and spokesman for "Russia's Choice," has declared that he is counting on more than a quarter of the seats in the Duma.

On the other hand, yet another party close to the authorities—the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms—will to all appearances try to take a stance linked with the future of Russian industry that would be attractive for the electorate. Judging by the remarks of Gavriil Popov, leader of the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms, the slogan about "renouncing monetarism," which earlier was the main weapon of "centrists" within the Supreme Soviet, will not go unused.

All these groups have a strong organizational base and support from presidential controlled administrative structures. As the outcome of elections on the federal ticket will to no small extent depend on such purely Soviet procedures as drawing up lists of signatures, these parties have a chance to get rid of undesirable contenders having similar programs as well as of part of their contenders on the other flank. This is even more so because the more formidable contenders of the national-communist trend have been excluded by repressive methods.

It is apparent that under the present conditions, the more radical opposition to the "pro-president" parties in the elections will be the Democratic Party of Russia whose leader, Nikolay Travkin, is seen as a figure sufficiently adapted to the election struggle under curtailed political freedoms. The chances of success for the Socialist Party of Working People headed by Roy Medvedev in the elections for the State Duma remain unclear. The ban on communist organizations related to it may negatively affect its attractiveness in the eyes of potential voters because part of them may come to regard the participation of the Socialist Party of Working People in the elections (it is yet to decide if it will take part) as desertion from the advanced contingent of the proletariat. One should not, however, discount it as one should not discount the Social Democratic Party of Russia, which has come forward to protest the participation of the presidential team in the elections.

One may suppose that party representatives will win more than half the seats in the State Duma that are to be filled in accordance with the proportional system. The parties with the best backing should be able to take the opportunity to put forward their candidates also in national-territorial districts. In addition, it is reasonable to suppose that in those districts where the administration is unreservedly pro-president, "independent" candidates backed by it will enjoy a considerable advantage over their possible rivals.

The elections for the Federation Council—the upper chamber of parliament—announced by the president for 12 December attest to the confidence of Boris Yeltsin's team that the organization of the election campaign will bring it success. The opportunities for regional authorities can be viewed as rather limited because they are not united in a single political organization. Sergey Shakhray has been suggesting ever since summer that they should create such an organization. The regions, however, still have not created an efficient party structure. Besides, Mr. Shakhray, a reputed "democrat," has rivals who are capable of reducing the struggle between regional elites to a clash of individuals.

The five-percent barrier for parties running on the federal ticket brought victory to left-wing forces in Poland owing to the fragmentation of their opponents. The same barrier in Russia—unless the struggle of interests and ambitions inside the government and the president's administration demolishes the big blocs—may lead to the formation of a parliament that would agree to conduct an unpopular policy of economic reforms. Objectively speaking, reasons exist for doubting the fairness and democratic nature of the coming elections. However, the radical opposition itself made efforts to create this situation. The future Federal Assembly's legitimacy is not going to be unreserved, but it can still provide the groundwork for creating a democratic statehood.

Should the presidential team fail in creating a "pocket parliament," that would mean that its hopes for pursuing an integral and consistent policy are unfounded.

Sobchak Urges Postponement of Elections

AU1210183893 Hamburg BILD AM SONNTAG in German 10 Oct 93 p 4

[Interview with St. Petersburg Mayor Anatoliy Aleksandrovich Sobchak by Mathias Brueggmann; place and date not given: "Russia: Germans Should Supervise Elections"]

[Text] [Brueggmann] Are you seeing the danger of a new communist revolt?

[Sobchak] No. There will be no such danger any more when democratic elections have taken place and the new parliament functions.

[Brueggmann] What fate will be in store for Rutskoy and Khasbulatov?

[Sobchak] A trial in court under the rule of law. I hope very much that the trial against them does not peter out, as was the case with the proceedings against the putschists who intended to overthrow Gorbachev.

[Brueggmann] Is it certain that the announced parliamentary elections will really take place? Or will Yeltsin rule as a dictator?

[Sobchak] Elections will be held in any case. The most important thing is to create conditions for really free and democratic elections. That is why they should not take place early in December, as Yeltsin has planned, but rather in February or March.

[Brueggmann] Why do you want such a postponement?

[Sobchak] Because otherwise it will not be possible to prepare the elections properly—above all if the election of chance candidates and unknown people is to be prevented. That would be fatal because, after all, the new parliament has the task, which is of vital importance for Russia, of adopting a constitution. That is why we need time to conduct a serious election campaign and carry out the elections under the supervision of the European Community and the CSCE—and thus also German election observers—to guarantee that really democratic elections take place.

[Brueggmann] Who will be admitted to the elections?

[Sobchak] Many political parties and election blocs will run. Only parties with a communist orientation and nationalist parties that have joined the "National Salvation Front" and have prepared a rebellion will be banned.

[Brueggmann] How strong are the old communists?

[Sobchak] That is not a matter of their number or membership of their parties—the real problem is that the communist ideology has deeply penetrated the Russians' minds and souls.

[Brueggmann] Are the Russian provinces behind Yeltsin?

[Sobchak] Not all of them, but the majority. Before long, even the regions whose old communist chairmen instigate the districts against Yeltsin will have to back Yeltsin—be it only in the interests of their own finances, which come from Moscow. The question must be clarified now as to whether the regional parliamentary elections should be carried out together with the national parliamentary elections or the presidential elections. It is also very important that these elections be held now, to liberate our country from the communist heritage at all levels, and definitely introduce the new democratic system.

[Brueggmann] Who is Yeltsin's toughest challenger?

[Sobchak] There will certainly be other candidates who will run in the upcoming presidential elections, but it is very difficult to predict who will be the most dangerous for Yeltsin.

[Brueggmann] Is it absolutely certain that Yeltsin will again run as a presidential candidate?

[Sobchak] This is a question that you will have to ask him personally. He alone will decide this.

[Brueggmann] Will you be going to Moscow?

[Sobchak] I am not going to become a government member, but no decision has been made on the presidential candidates.

[Brueggmann] Do you intend to run as a presidential candidate yourself?

[Sobchak] That is not yet clear. That is why I do not comment on it!

[Sobchak] How can the West help Russia develop democracy and the economy?

[Brueggmann] Not by words, but by deeds! We do not need alms or gifts. We need genuine cooperation, in other words, Western entrepreneurs who invest in our country. This is something from which both sides will profit.

Adviser Claims Yeltsin May Agree to Simultaneous Elections

LD1210135093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1338 GMT 12 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow, October 12 (TASS)—Georgy Satarov, member of the presidential council, just as his colleagues, does not preclude the possibility of President Yeltsin's fixing the date of pre-term presidential elections.

In an interview to ITAR-TASS, Satarov said Yeltsin would most probably heed members of the presidential council and agree to re-election in March 1994 simultaneously with elections to representative powers in territories, regions and republics within the Russian Federation.

If the president decides that presidential elections be held simultaneously with elections to the federal assembly, the date of simultaneous elections may be fixed later than December 12, Satarov said.

"The postponement of elections to the Federal Assembly without fixing simultaneous presidential elections could be regarded by the opposition as the president's striving to prolong authoritarian rule. Simultaneous elections will be the expression of Yeltsin's striving to continue democratic transformations with the observance of the principle of the separation of powers", Satarov believes.

Commentary Urges Postponing Elections

MK1210135893 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 64, 12 Oct 93 (signed to press 11 Oct) p 1

[Dmitriy Ostalskiy commentary: "A Shock From Victory"]

[Text] A strange thing is happening in our own country. After the cold shower of the "patriotic" rebellion, we have to learn to live again, as it were. Confusion reigns not only over the defeated but also in the very camp of the "victors" (it is more fitting to speak about salvation—is it for long?—from the breath of Russian fascism that singed us last Sunday than about a victory). We are arguing ourselves into a frenzy about how to defend democracy in this strange country: by burying once and for all the clearly obsolete Soviet legality and embracing (for salvation's sake!) revolutionary expediency, or by clinging to the very end (also for salvation's sake!) to the remnants of legislation?

In the meantime the authorities, or more accurately, the remaining authority, is encouraging the debaters. On the one hand, it bans as clearly indecent in a civilized society fascist as well as relatively respectable opposition newspapers; suspends numerous (according to today's Russian standards) parties prior to new elections because of some of their leaders' part in the rebellion; exploits the state of emergency situation for the expulsion from Moscow of "persons without residence permits" (who can tell what percentage of these "persons" are criminals?). On the other hand, it puts in the cells of Lefortovo Prison as few as five and a half out of the dozens of inspirers of the rebellion, preserving the former immunity of our unharmed (perhaps the only category of the population not harmed) deputies and—what is more—giving them new honorable positions up to the rank of deputy ministers.

The debaters are unsatisfied. Neither of them. All are cursing the authorities: one set of them for indecision, the other for unlawfulness, and both for half-heartedness. Who is right?

In my view, we all (I deliberately do not speak today about the mutineers' supporters), including the power structures, are ruled by shock, ruled by fear. Society, which watched a two-day live broadcast about a war in the center of Moscow as if it were a splendidly produced western, is so far unable to adequately perceive what happened. More than anything else, part of it fears seeing again the 3 October masters of the country smug and ready to start reeducating the thoughtless majority of the population. The other part today also perceives in the state's necessary show of strength a rather real threat to their own freedom....

The coming elections are not the best way out of these two fears. Unfortunately, the elections cannot be really free after all that has happened. Completing the investigation into the events of early October is hardly possible before 12 December. A court decision on these events is even less possible. This means that the part of the population that supported the mutineers, even if only internally, will be "disfranchised" to a considerable degree because of the ban on the organizations that represent them. Hence these people will never recognize the voting results. The ban on "their" press, if it bears fruit at all, will result in it going underground, and the birth of terrorist organizations.

Would it not be more honest to postpone the elections, to move them farther from the state of emergency? This would give society a bit more of a chance to recover from the shock, and in the meantime to get busy with the economy in a rather authoritarian spirit which is not at all the same as arbitrary behavior and presupposes quite definite, albeit imposed from the top, rules of the game. A real program for economic recovery, and more importantly, resoluteness in implementing it, would accomplish much more than the wisest political changes.

And the last thing. I am personally glad that recent presidential opponents from the former parliament are getting rather dignified positions. This attests to the fact that Yeltsin's efforts today are aimed at breaking up the system rather than people. This distinguishes him from those who ruled the city on 3 October.

Advisability of Elections Questioned

PM1310075993 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 12 Oct 93 p 1

[Andrey Kolesnikov article under "Jurist's Opinion" rubric: "Playing the Parliament Game. Will History of Postcommunist Parliamentarism Be Counted From Elections to State Duma?"]

[Text] Parliamentarism came from islands. The first parliament—the Althing—appeared in Iceland. Traditional parliamentary democracy underwent its final development in Britain. Parliaments are probably of no use to empires. At any rate, totalitarian methods of ruling have been justified by a crisis of parliamentarism.

By a strange irony of history the soviets, the antipode of parliamentary authority as an element of the separation of powers, became the legislative branch of power in the fledgling Russian democracy purely by virtue, it seemed initially, of linguistic conservatism.

But whether this name itself had a magical meaning or whether the logic of political confrontation led to this, Russian soviets gradually reverted in their functions and degree of antilegal cynicism to their predecessors—the revolutionary soviets of 1905 vintage. By its lawmaking in the sphere of state law the Supreme Soviet turned itself into an organ not listed in a system of separating powers and strove to combine legislative, executive, and control functions, as is traditional for a communist system. The actual composition of Russia's "strange parliament" gradually became increasingly homogenous—parliamentary "dissidents" (Mityukov, Kovalev, and others) were ruthlessly purged. Actually the history of postcommunist parliamentarism has still not begun. But here is a Hamlet-style question: Is it fated to begin with the elections to the State Duma?

If the Statute on Elections is used in its present form as a "guide to action" in the upcoming elections, we will once again get a kind of "unfinished parliament," a sort of transitional form which will be little better, in particular in its cadre composition, than the odious Russian Federation Supreme Soviet.

We all already know that one-third of the State Duma will consist of party bosses. Bearing in mind that Russian multipartyism is, to put it mildly, at the establishment stage, the advisability of these elections is extremely doubtful. Not to mention that, according to specialists' assessments, the election regulations by no means make them free and equal elections.

According to an idea originating in extraordinary circumstances the upper chamber—the Federation Council—will consist right from the outset of the regional nomenklatura, which will be guided in its activity by its mercenary political interests. It is a chamber of lobbyists for Russian territories. And there is nothing worse for the activity of the executive branch, which looks after financial stabilization, than regional lobbying.

But no less trouble could be wrought by sector lobbying, which, without any doubt, even given a parliamentary election result favorable to reformers, will be ensured by the gentlemen centrists among industrialists and entrepreneurs engaged by various quasi-party formations. Whether you like it or not you will be filled with Yegor Gaydar's concern that other centrists, even those gravitating toward a liberal economic model, will above all be lobbyists of their own narrow, entrepreneurial interests.

Voters have a wide choice. The centrists' supporters could "back" Volskiy, Skokov, and Yavlinskiy. The problem lies elsewhere: Genuine centrism has now drifted naturally to the right, toward the liberals. What has been called the "center" since Gorbachev's time is in fact a conglomeration of left-wing political parties that have stopped halfway between communism and social democracy. In other words, the ordinary citizen is electing a minor socialist authority in the person of the selfsame Volskiy and Skokov.

In any case, elections that are held "in the heat of the moment," almost in a state of emergency, carry the risk, first, of considerable political apathy on the part of the population, which is **in principle** fed up with voting for this and that; second—and for a **normal** democracy this is of considerable importance—the left-wing spectrum of political forces may not be fully represented. To what extent can we live in conditions of incomplete democracy?

The euphoria of victory must not allow us to forget that it is necessary to take care over the observance of formal principles of democracy and the establishment of guarantees against dictatorship of any sort. There is a very great need for both sober juridical reasoning and cold practical reason in order to understand that, if the elections are not free, Russia will again not have a real parliament.

Economic Issues

Chernomyrdin Interviewed on Economic Future

PM1210193193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 13 Oct 93 p 1

[Interview with Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin by Nikita Vaynonen; place and date not given: "Viktor Chernomyrdin: Life Will Be Hard. But Nevertheless Easier Than Before. Russian Premier Answers ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI Correspondent Nikita Vaynonen's Questions"]

[Text] [Vaynonen] Viktor Stepanovich! Now that there is no longer any "counterweight" in the shape of parliament, many people are worried about how the steps which the government is taking and will be taking will affect people's lives.

[Chernomyrdin] I understand that concern. How will life turn out? That is the main question. But first we need nonetheless to look at what has happened. We have been through a supreme tragedy and everyone is naturally asking a lot of confused and bitter questions—who was to blame? Could it have been prevented? Was everything done to prevent the violence and bloodshed?

You realize, of course, that I, as leader of the government, was obliged to be and was at the center of events. I know all the action taken by Yerin, Grachev, and all the others—they did everything that was necessary... But we could not have imagined that people who had tirelessly claimed to want the best for Russia would do such things. Yes, that was our mistake—we believed them. As for the actions of the militia and the Army—which are now coming in for a great deal of not always kindly criticism—I must be blunt: I do not accept this position. What happened, happened for the first time. We had calculated some extreme options. But, nonetheless, losses in such situations are absolutely inevitable. The most that can be done is to minimize them. That was the task we tried to resolve.

But now another matter is coming to the fore—what is to be done? The government has a clear-cut program. It has been published. Now that nobody is stopping it from being carried out, there is a firm hope of stabilization. The rate of the recession had started to slow even before the putsch. In the third quarter of the year it will be considerably slower than it was in the first. It will continue to slow in the future. But if you are asking me by what date, say, we will be able to reduce monthly inflation to an acceptable level of 5-6 percent, then I cannot give you a date. All these programs constructed in the form of a graph for 400 days, 500 days... They don't work. They're harebrained schemes. I will say one thing—1994 will be decisive. Will things get harder for people? I'm not going to make any promises. But if we can keep things moving in their current direction, then life—although still hard—will still be easier than it was before. Yes, we will have to liberalize bread prices and apartments will go up in price, but the people who could be particularly affected by this should not worry—they will definitely receive targeted assistance in sufficient amounts.

[Vaynonen] Many questions are being asked and concerns expressed as a result of the government—forgive me—having been very maladroit in explaining its policy. And rumors start wherever there is insufficient information. Do you intend to do something in this area?

[Chernomyrdin] That's a good question. You are quite right, we have concentrated more on the surface of matters rather than going into them in depth. There is a lot of talk about macroeconomic measures. Of course, this is a very important aspect. But, believe me, the real problem currently lies elsewhere. Look, I could without ceremony tear the U.S. economy to pieces [zaprosto mogu raschekhvostit] at the macro level. It is not enough to create a theory. It is also necessary to build a real mechanism to ensure that all this works and moves forward. There is a law on bankruptcy but there have been no bankruptcies. Why? Ask yourself that question! People at local level are afraid, people at enterprises are afraid. Everyone realizes everything but they do not want to take the risk. Take Severodvinsk—one enterprise and a whole city. Some 30,000 workers! They make nuclear submarines, but submarines aren't needed any more. What are we to do with the city? What kind of market will save it? Does anyone know what to do? No. Even if you had my back to the wall, I would not change my tune [vy tut Chernomyrdina khot razmazhte po stenke]. It takes time and enormous amounts of funds to change anything or to convert an enterprise. We are happy with every positive step—that is something worth writing about! I am saying this specially for ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI. We are not writing about these successful steps, we are not collecting them together, and people are not learning about them! What needs to be done is to make concrete decisions at the micro level.

But, above all, /who is going to do this/? [words between slantlines published in boldface] The same old people. So, take a privatized, newly floated enterprise, and what has changed? In some places a lot, in others nothing. It's the same old mentality of people eating and drinking their fill. It will take years. Many years. So let's be patient and start working.

Gaydar Comments on Economic Policy

Holds News Conference

LD0810180893 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1515 GMT 8 Oct 93

[Report on a news conference by Yegor Gaydar, first deputy prime minister, with questions asked by correspondent Sergey Omelchenko in Moscow on 7 October—recorded]

[Text] The problems of the economy and politics have today gotten tangled into a confused, contradictory knot that the executive authorities, the president, and the government were not able to undo without the use of force. Now having rid itself of obvious opponents and adversaries, the government considers speedy, creative, constructive work to be most important. Yegor Gaydar, Russian Government first deputy prime minister, stressed this at a meeting with journalists. Here is an excerpt from the news conference:

[Omelchenko] Yegor Timofeyevich, what mistakes, in your opinion, were made by the government during the whole tragic situation that took place recently in Moscow.

[Gaydar] First of all, this situation arose out of the organizational weakness of many structures of state authority, the force structures, and the inadequacy of, first and foremost, the government's information on what might threaten the peace of citizens and the state's stability. Obviously, the government—for understandable reasons because it wished to avoid confrontation—for too long conducted talks, not understanding or not wanting to understand that these talks served only as cover for those who were preparing for armed rebellion. I think that was the most serious of the mistakes for which we, of course, are responsible.

[Omelchenko] Yegor Timofeyevich, now there are no opponents, and there is no opposition from the Supreme Soviet. What do you think should be done? What economic program is now the priority for the government?

[Gaydar] Today it is possible and necessary to resolve several key tasks. The priority today is to maintain management of finance and money instruments. You remember that the parliament adopted a budget envisaging a 28-trillion ruble deficit. Behind this were irresponsible decisions and false promises. Now, naturally, our task is to bring down this deficit to sensible proportions that are feasible for the country's economy. Simply maintaining prices, restraining inflation—they have gone down a small amount now—the main thing is to preserve this tendency. Parliament severely crippled the privatization program. It was constantly under threat of being halted. Now we have been able to extend the validity of privatization checks until 1 July 1994. This will allow long-term organization and management in calm, without haste, without fuss. At the same time, we are preparing a privatization program for 1993-94 that creates a normal long-term basis for work on management.

Serious reforms are facing housing policy. The government is now preparing a package of normative acts directed at reforming the system of providing social support for housing. It is necessary to make headway in liberalizing foreign economic activities and removing obstacles for exporting our goods, which today are faced with excessive export tariffs and customs duties. Certainly, one of the most important directions in our work is to lay a basis made up of fundamental legal acts because the vagueness of fundamental legislation and the absence of normal market, civil and criminal codes, laws on labor and the code of criminal procedure—fundamental documents that determine order in the country—are the most important reasons for legal instability in Russia. The government's task now is to arm the new parliament with at least drafts of these vital fundamental documents.

[Omelchenko] This is the task of the new federal assembly?

[Gaydar] Yes, the new federal assembly. I think that given normal calm work, if there is a parliamentary majority that does not want to ruin its own economy, but really wants to set up a basis for its stable development, we are capable of sharply decreasing inflation as early as 1994 and of forming the basis for economic growth.

Discusses Budget, Regions

PM1210152593 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 9 Oct 93

[Irina Savvateyeva report on interview with First Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar; place and date not given; from the "Biznes-Kontakt" section, page 1: "What Impact Will Volleys Against 'White House' Have?"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] First Vice Premier Yegor Gaydar:

The political confrontation has not removed the acuteness of our economic problems. It will only become clear in the next few months whether it will be possible to prevent the tense political situation from influencing the adoption of well-considered economic decisions or whether the political confrontation will be a prologue to an abrupt deepening of economic difficulties. [passage omitted]

As for taxes, the government has rejected the idea of increasing tax rates by presidential edict. Because, as Gaydar put it, the real reserves for increasing the tax burden have already been exhausted. One strategic way is left—cutting the level of state spending.

The government is elaborating a new approach to the formation of the budget. It is obvious that a unified common federal profits tax rate of 11-14 percent will be established. Later on, the regions will be given the right to set profits tax at a level they consider sensible on the basis of their own financial requirements. Individual work will be done with persistent tax-defaulting regions—Tatarstan, Bashkiria, and Yakutia. Order will be established without any sharp movements or hysteria. Incidentally, it is hard to understand the situation in which nearby oblasts which are not autonomous areas are essentially actually financing the false prosperity of those areas.

The possibility of improving the budget can be linked to the fact that the 28-trillion-ruble deficit ratified in July by a Supreme Soviet decision should not now be financed. [passage omitted]

No personnel purges are planned in the immediate future. Nor are any reorganizations in the group of economic ministries. The worst thing that could be done now would be to get involved in a reorganization. That would definitely paralyze work. Nonetheless, following the State Duma elections, a major reorganization of the economic ministries will be carried out.

It is absolutely obvious that the Security Ministry is not needed in the form in which it exists today. At the very least it needs very major reorganization. In this instance I am expressing my own personal view. The same applies to the militia. [passage omitted]

Aide Interviewed

PM0810140193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 7 Oct 93 p 2

[Interview with Vladimir Mau, adviser to First Deputy Prime Minister Gaydar, by correspondent Oksana Petrunko; place and date not given: "Gaydar Has Returned. What Next?"]

[Text] Vladimir Mau, adviser to the first deputy prime minister, comments on his first moves and subsequent plans.

[Petrunko] So Gaydar has come back. Does this mean that the times of harsh and unpopular measures are returning too? What can we expect from this politician this time?

[Mau] The standard set of measures that any government implements when it is seeking stabilization. Gaydar's key problem in the macroeconomic sphere will be to keep a tight rein on the budget, control budget spending, and reduce the budget deficit. The Central Bank—not as it was in 1992—is promising an appropriate monetary policy. We support its credit policy and interest rate.

Special attention is being paid to social problems: Everyone is talking about targeted support for the needy but nothing is being done about it. In addition, during the period out of office we worked on one of these problems—housing. I appreciate that this question is odious, and I remember the promises of all the leaders to build apartments for everyone by a given year. However, N.S. Khrushchev tried to resolve this problem based on the level of prosperity and the economic mechanism that existed at that time, of course. Housing can play the role that railroads played in the accelerated industrialization of Russia in the 1890s. For any semi-market economy, the main problem is to give an incentive to saving. Housing could be such an incentive, but it is so expensive that it is a pipedream right now to hope to save enough to buy an apartment. Housing credits are the only sphere where we are ready to support the idea of state-subsidized credits for the population. This really could be the engine that pulls the economy along. However, this program will work only if we manage to bear down on inflation.

As for unpopular measures, I am not so sure that placing the emphasis on social policy and support for the underprivileged are unpopular measures. Curbing inflation—is that an unpopular measure too? You will say that no one wants to reduce prices by means of reducing their own pay. But the East European experience shows that the predictions of the horrors that will ensue after the implementation of a tight budget policy are more of a scare tactic than anything else. All these things are possible: There could be a harsh winter, famine, and then Russia might disintegrate. But only if a national-communist regime comes to power, not as a result of a tight budget policy.

[Petrunko] Do you think that there is a danger of such a development of events in the country?

[Mau] Vigorous political actions are not needed for the reforms in 1993 but the present state of instability, the lack of a course, and the vacillation are disastrous. Ultimately this will have very regrettable economic consequences for us that will materialize at the end of this year. I would like to stress in particular that the economy is on the verge of very unpleasant upheavals connected with the ruble exchange rate and with the loss of control—however, control not in a mechanical sense but in the sense of the predictability and acceptability of the consequences. This real control was not bad in 1992.

They accused us of conducting the economy according to the textbook. What is so bad about the fact that when prices were released goods appeared in the stores four weeks later as the textbooks say? The problem was that the economy was being run according to two different sections of the textbook: the sections of "The Macroeconomics of Populism" and "The Macroeconomics of Stabilization." The choice facing us now is between those two. The macroeconomics of populism have been well described in specialist literature. Believe me, this is exactly what Oleg Ivanovich Lobov proposes. The consequences have been described, too. As the books on macroeconomics in Latin America say, the populist ideology which demands active state support for wages and massive state investments usually occurs in a country which is experiencing stagnation or slump. This gives a government certain levers of economic influence and a feeling of strength: What happens then is a sharp growth in investments, the maintenance of wages, and a unduly high currency exchange rate. This usually gives positive results at first. But after six to nine months it is discovered that the situation is not all that good. Currency resources are rapidly exhausted. Clear signs of a deficit begin to show. The situation with prices becomes worse, inflation begins to gather pace, and the government tries to freeze prices and maintain the exchange rate. Then there will be even faster inflation and the flight of capital abroad. The government is then forced to cut the exchange rate, after which the population suffers another round of impoverishment. After that there is usually a new military government that tries to do something at the macroeconomic level. Usually these economic reviews end with the comment: "In all countries governments are convinced for some reason that they exist in unique conditions and are not repeating the experience of other countries."

[Petrunko] From your observations what distinguishes the new deputy prime minister's views and intentions from the guidelines of Gaydar—the head of the Cabinet of Ministers?

[Mau] Nothing in principle. Although there are undoubtedly changes to the list of priorities that I mentioned. I think that the resignation then (this is normal in a democratic society) was a blessing for Gaydar. Returning today is a heavy burden and at the same time a civic duty.

In 1991 they used the name "kamikaze" about Gaydar, too. He has the reputation of being a strong man and he will probably keep it. Pavel Bunich, who expressed a very negative view of the government at the beginning of 1992, recently stated that Gaydar is a "unit of force," a strong and tough politician.

From the viewpoint of personal political prospects and his image, Yegor Gaydar's present move is of course disastrous. It would have been better to stand to one side and not be a hostage to other people's mistakes. But the situation could become very dramatic if there is no intervention in it now. As far as I can judge that is why he agreed. Although for all of us, for his team this is a defeat. I will be honest: Even in the material sense consultancy in our country is better paid than work in the government apparatus, and we cannot permit ourselves the luxury of a running-in period any more.

[Petrunko] Gaydar's appointment was a surprise for the Russians. After more than six months in retirement he has now returned without changing his concept of stabilization. Oleg Ivanovich Lobov, who has been succeeded by the former prime minister [as published—Gaydar was only ever "acting prime minister"], has also been through a period of noninvolvement in state decision-making. In fall 1991 he headed a mythical expert council instead of holding a key post. Then he came back. Perhaps there is something cyclical about this and the appointment first of Lobov then of Gaydar means a change of course for the president, do you think?

[Mau] The president uses cadre reshuffles, whether planned or unplanned, to select a political bloc. Does this signify some kind of program—I think not. A new compromise of rational social and political forces is being created. What has happened in our country recently? The president's conflict with parliament exhausted itself quite a long time ago. Parliament really stopped reflecting anyone's interests at all and had become quite monolithic in its rejection of economic reforms. The differences in positions among deputies related to individual and fairly private issues. The agrarian lobby is everywhere. But you cannot say that there is a lobby of industrialists or a military-industrial complex lobby in parliament. There has been lobbying by specific enterprises. This is demonstrated by the fact that it was possible to change the position of any deputy by helping to strengthen the economic positions of his production unit. Some ministers made extensive use of that.

At the same time there occurred a parliamentarization of the government, if I may put it that way. During the course of this year it has become a focus of the real interests existing in society, in other words, it became a parliament. It included inflationists and anti-inflationsts. The inflationists are those who have an objective interest in preserving inflation and who express the interests of enterprises which can only survive in conditions of a mild budgetary and monetary policy. On the inflationists' side there are enterprises that cannot or could not adapt to the new economic conditions and a significant proportion of the banking structures, because at times of high inflation banks can make colossal profits by taking advantage of the exchange rate and cheap credits. (That is why, incidentally, Gaydar's tough course was not in the bankers' interests no matter how much he was accused of the opposite). And finally there are stock market structures and trade and intermediary structures, which also fare significantly better in conditions of hyperinflation. On the side of the anti-inflationary forces, theoretically speaking, are mainly those enterprises which are competitive and which for that reason support a tough monetary policy and the opening of the market to foreign competitors. The dividing line, as you can see, is not between the state and the private sector. These forces exist in society itself. There are two groups: Those who will immediately fare considerably better after inflation and those who will begin to fare better after making certain intellectual efforts—that is, after retraining.

The conglomerate of completely disparate social forces united by the term "inflationists" predominated in the government. O.I. Lobov and the chairmen of the sectoral committees—natural inflationists—demanded subsidies, subventions, and state investments. There are the mild (or covert) inflationists who do not speak about the budget deficit but propose creating powerful industrial groups at the top and closing the market to foreign competition. At the regular sessions of the Council of Ministers Presidium there seemed to be a coalition because Fedorov and Chubays were working among the inflationary majority. This situation can only be described as bad and unstable, and it undoubtedly blocked the government's work. Gaydar was needed as a counterbalance to the pro-inflation majority.

[Petrunko] There is an opinion which holds that Gaydar's appointment is merely a concession to the Americans' demands. After all, they promised their assistance before on the security of "Gaydar in power," didn't they?

[Mau] Such a reason for Yegor Gaydar's return to power would be a sign of the naivety and lack of farsightedness on the part of the country's leadership.

I think that the Americans like dealing with Yegor Timurovich—he is a Western-educated man who speaks to them in their language. But V.S. Chernomyrdin also speaks in a language they understand—the language of the businessman.

[Petrunko] Why was Gaydar chosen for the role of the missing pro-marketeer in the Government rather than Yavlinskiy, whose rating as an independent politician is quite high?

[Mau] I would not exaggerate the importance of that poll rating. Yavlinskiy came first in the poll in response to the question "which politician do you like most," and last in response to the question "whom would you like to see as president?"

Yavlinskiy is closely linked today with Konstantin Zatulin's grouping. He proposes that since inflation cannot be conquered quickly we must develop privatization, create new property owners, and thus gradually combat inflation. This is the position of commercial and intermediary capital for whom privatization in conditions of inflation is far more beneficial than privatization after inflation has been curbed. Herein lie the fundamentally radical difference between the positions of Yavlinskiy and Gaydar.

[Petrunko] Yegor Gaydar becomes a colleague of his [former] successor. One can anticipate disagreements on programs, and personal differences between V.S. Chernomyrdin and Y.T. Gaydar in this situation.

[Mau] I would remind you that the first person to invite Gaydar to rejoin the government was the head of the government, not the president. I do not think that this was a mere formality.

As for differences of opinion on economic concepts... There were no grounds for dispute in the program which the head of the government presented at the July Council of Ministers meeting. It is a very reasonable program. Perhaps some proposals were not very well worked out and thus cannot be implemented as soon as they would like.

Finance Minister Fedorov on Economy, Inflation

Comments on Reforms

LD1110102393 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 11 Oct 93

[Text] Setbacks in the Russian reform agenda has no bearing [as heard] with the struggle between the government and the dissolved parliament. This has been announced by Russia's Finance Minister Boris Fedorov. He noted in a television interview that the main reason for the failures is the clash between the two ideologies and two economic systems, the former totalitarian and a market-oriented system. According to Mr. Fedorov the ones who will manage to reform the Russian economy and convert it to a free development will win politically and will hold power.

Optimistic on Stabilization

LD1110195793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1817 GMT 11 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Oleg Velichko]

[Text] Moscow October 11 TASS—Russian Finance Minister Boris Fedorov remains optimistic about prospects of financial stabilisation and hopes the country will get the second part of the International Monetary Fund credit by the end of the year.

Addressing reporters on monday Fedorov praised the Government which did not cede to demands to offset mutual debts of enterprises at the expense of money printing. He disclosed that a presidential decree is ready ordering to transfer the debts into bills of exchange with fixed duration and enterprises will go bankrupt when the term expires.

He also praised the Government for refusal to replenish circulating assets of enterprises by money emission.

The decision to cancel all easy-term credits from October 1 was characterised by Fedorov as a "revolutionary step".

Still he warned that the rouble will continue to fall, however its exchange rate will go down slower than the inflation rate. Fedorov welcomed the recent decision of the Central Bank to ban trade for hard currency in the country and called it "a necessary measure aimed to strengthen the national currency".

Although relations with several Russian regions have considerably improved and they resumed paying taxes to the federal budget, Fedorov warned tax dodgers that a presidential decree had been prepared which toughens sanctions against them. He refused to elaborate.

He added that the republics of Tatarstan and Bashkortostan resumed paying taxes to the budget.

Estimates Deficit, Inflation Figures

PM1210110593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 9 Oct 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Center of Attention"]

[Text] Russian Federation Finance Minister and Vice Premier Boris Fedorov estimates that the budget deficit could reach 12 trillion rubles by the year's end, and that monthly inflation will average around 15-20 percent. At the same time he noted that, if it proves possible to avoid unforeseen budget expenditure, inflation could dip below 15 percent by February.

Yeltsin Issues Edict on Foreign Investment

PM1310083593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 12 Oct 93 p iii

[Presidential edict No. 1466, dated 27 September and signed by President Yeltsin; from the "Dokumenty" section: "On Improving Work With Foreign Investment"]

[Text] With a view to improving the organizational and legal backup for the process of attracting foreign capital investment and enhancing the effectiveness of its utilization in order to resolve the priority tasks of developing the Russian economy, I decree that:

1. It shall be laid down that newly issued normative acts regulating foreign and joint enterprises' operating conditions on Russian Federation territory shall not operate for three years in respect of enterprises in existence at the time these acts came into force. This statute shall not extend to normative acts ensuring more favorable operating conditions for foreign and joint enterprises on Russian Federation territory.

2. It shall be laid down that restrictions on the activity of foreign investors on Russian Federation territory may only be established by Russian Federation laws and Russian Federation presidential edicts.

All normative acts from the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government, state committees, Russian Federation ministries and departments, organs of state administration of republics within the Russian Federation, krays, oblasts, the autonomous oblast, autonomous okrugs, and the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg laying down additional restrictions on foreign investors' activity on Russian Federation territory that are not stipulated by Russian Federation laws or by Russian Federation presidential edicts shall be considered null and void and not subject to implementation.

3. The Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government shall within two months draw up Russian Federation draft laws "On Changes and Additions to the RSFSR Law 'On Foreign Investment in the RSFSR'," "On Free Economic Zones," and "On Concessions," as well as proposals on changes to tax legislation for subsequent submission for examination by the Russian Federation Federal Assembly, with a view to ensuring favorable conditions for attracting foreign capital to priority economic programs.

4. The Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government shall within one month:

submit for ratification the procedure for converting state debt instruments;

submit proposals for reorganizing state organs and institutions ensuring the attraction, protection, and regulation of foreign investment, as well as the expert appraisal of investment projects;

elaborate a mechanism for utilizing mortgage-backed forms of attracting foreign capital;

make changes to Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government normative acts on privatization, ensuring the creation for foreign investors of equal conditions with Russian investors for participation in the privatization of state and municipal enterprises;

elaborate a program for attracting foreign capital to the defense enterprise conversion process;

submit for ratification a list of priority sectors for attracting foreign capital and a list of sectors in which foreign investment is prohibited;

elaborate measures to protect Russian technology and copyrights in the process of attracting foreign capital.

5. The Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government shall complete talks with foreign states in 1994 on concluding agreements of mutual protection and incentives for investment, and step up work with international financial organizations and foreign states' national banks in attracting loans for Russian investment projects.

6. This edict shall be submitted for examination by the Russian Federation Federal Assembly.

7. This edict comes into force from the moment of its publication.

[Signed] Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin
[Dated] Moscow, the Kremlin, 27 September 1993, No. 1466

Shokhin on Repaying Foreign Debts, Elections

LD1110173993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1500 GMT 11 Oct 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] This year Russia is willing to pay foreign commercial banks $500 million in repayment of the foreign debt, Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandr Shokhin stated at a news conference in Moscow today. This sum was agreed upon with the London Club, which unites several hundred foreign commercial banks. However, even at the latest talks on 7-8 October in Frankfurt-am-Main, no agreement was finally signed. Russia insists in particular on the principle of compliance with equal relations with different creditors, be they commercial or state creditors.

This year, our country has to repay a total of $2.5 billion in debts, while next year the figure, according to the previous scheme, will be about $6 billion. However, in the view of the Government, that is unfeasible for the Russian budget. Shokhin noted that the basic outline of a new agreement more acceptable to our country was agreed in Frankfurt-am-Main. The Russian deputy prime minister stressed that it is Russia itself, and not people abroad, that is committed to an improvement in the economy and finances and to a reduction in inflation and the budget deficit. In his words, it is important that unrealizable promises are not made during the election campaign.

Shokhin said that, in his view, those members of the government who are to stand as candidates in the elections should resign.

Economics Ministry on Foreign Investment Needs

LD0810144593 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 0525 GMT 8 Oct 93

[From the "Time for Business" program]

[Text] The Economics Ministry estimates that Russia needs $30- $50 billion worth of foreign investment annually. However, according to forecasts, this need will only be met by the year 2000. At the present time, the annual volume of foreign capital coming into the country amounts to $1.5-$2 billion.

Predicts Strong Future

LD0810184793 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 0525 GMT 8 Oct 93

[Text] Enterprises which have foreign capital invested in them will have a 10-12 percent share of the volume of goods and services produced in Russia by the year 2000. This is the forecast of the Russian Economics Ministry. The Volga region, cities in the Urals, the oil-producing regions of western Siberia, Maritime Kray, and Sakhalin will be the centers where such enterprises will be concentrated.

Completion of Privatization Expected by Mid-1994

LD1110151193 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 0530 GMT 11 Oct 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Correspondent] Ninety-six percent of Russia's population have received privatization vouchers at some time. According to the most recent information, 108.2 million citizens have used their vouchers. Throughout the whole of Russia, in the words of Anatoliy Chubays, there is a normal and standard process for privatization based on existing legislation.

[Begin recording] [Chubays, captioned as chairman of the Russian Federation State Committee for Management of State Property] I think that there are several major improvements that have taken place in the real life of the economy. Privatization is one of them, and an important one, of course. Perhaps it is the key one, but it is not the only one. The other no less important improvement is the fact that in the Russian economy money has become real money. This is of fundamental importance and means that an enterprise director now thinks first and foremost about how to earn this money. This means that he thinks about his consumer and about the market and the possibility of selling and lowering expenditures. This means that a worker now thinks about how to earn money. [end recording]

[Correspondent] According to estimates by the State Committee for the Management of State Property, the current dynamics provide the possibility of completing the normal process of mass privatization only by the middle of next year. Proceeding from this, a presidential decree has been drawn up that extends the time period for privatization until June 1994. The results of transforming enterprises into joint-stock companies have shown that of 14,000 enterprises, 7,000 have become joint-stock companies. Of these 7,000, 4,900 have gone through voucher auctions. This means that in these enterprises, the proportion of state property is minimal or nil.

Central Bank Blacklists 22 Moscow Banks for Debt

LD1210101493 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0915 GMT 12 Oct

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The Central Bank of Russia has terminated operations at 22 Moscow banks. The measure applies to banks which have had a negative balance for more than five days. The debtors include MMM-Bank, the Amalgamated Settlement and Clearing House, Rusinvestbank, Pragma Bank, and others. All credits in favor of these debtor banks will be diverted to pay off their debts. Accordingly, no payments from correspondent's accounts will be allowed. Details of other banks on this blacklist can be obtained from the main board of the Central Bank of Russia. [passage omitted]

Central Bank Reportedly Continued To Fund Parliament

PM1210145593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Oct 93 First Edition p 1

[Mikhail Berger report: "After President's Edict Dissolving Parliament, Central Bank Still Allocated 600 Million Rubles in Cash to White House"]

[Text] Some time ago newspapers carried a report that the Supreme Soviet, which had already been dissolved, received 600 million rubles [R] in cash from the Central Bank plus R120 million in the form of drafts—not in cash. This happened 22 September, as KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA reported at the time.

IZVESTIYA turned to the Central Bank for an explanation. The bank's press service denied the report, at the same time adding that it is impossible to obtain such an impressive amount in cash without ordering it in advance. Our newspaper reported all this in its issue No. 187 of 1 October.

The editorial office has learned today that R600 million in cash was nonetheless issued to the Supreme Soviet 22 September in accordance with a directive by [Central Bank Chairman] Viktor Gerashchenko. True, it should be pointed out that the documents needed to obtain this money were received prior to the edict dissolving parliament, and the bank could have withheld payment on those grounds, but it acted differently.

When the government was faced with the problem of the emergency formation of cash monetary reserves during the night of 3-4 October, the commercial banks responded instantly. But in the Central Bank the right people were not on the spot at the critical moment, and this created considerable difficulties. The Central Bank made its own small contribution only at the second attempt on Monday.

Baltic Bank Allocates Funds for Moscow

LD0910102093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0609 GMT 9 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Svetlana Ivanova]

[Text] St. Petersburg October 9 TASS—The board of the Baltic Bank, one of the largest banks in the north-western region, has decided to assign 100 million roubles "for the elimination of the aftermath of the putsch in Moscow and for the strengthening of democratic reforms."

The money is to be transferred to the account of the "joint foundation for the elimination of the aftermath of the armed coup attempt in Moscow."

Consumer Prices Predicted To Increase Sevenfold

LD1110165293 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1300 GMT 11 Oct 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] According to forecasts made by Russia's Prices Committee, consumer prices will increase sevenfold in 1994 compared with 1993.

Monetarist Policies May Postpone Industrial Restructuring

MK1210125093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 12 Oct 93 p 1, 3

[Vladislav Borodulin report: "Effects of Financial Stabilization Will Be Seen in Winter"]

[Text] A drastic change in the political situation in Russia has narrowed "the wavering room" (from the opposed aspirations of the parliament and the government to differences within the executive branch alone) over the choice of the economic course. However, the liberation of the executive branch from the need to pay heed to the Supreme Soviet's economic ideas has plainly highlighted a lack—both in the Kremlin and on Old Square—of a long-term concept for the development of the national economy: speeches by virtually all government members boil down to calls for achieving financial stabilization, which has for many changed from a tool for reinvigorating the economy to an end in itself. Deputy Prime Minister Boris Fedorov's press conference yesterday confirmed this.

Reshuffles in the Russian Government have long been the most telling indicator of the cabinet's economic course. However, the political situation brought about by the abolition of the parliament has put personal relations among Council of Ministers members and differences between its internal blocs on the back burner. The president alone—at least in the next four months—will have the final say in determining the pattern of economic policy. The government will be confined to the role of a simple executor of Boris Yeltsin's decisions, which will force cabinet members to look for "unconventional" ways of influencing the state's first official.

The December elections for a new Russian parliament will be decisive in working out a future economic course. Above all, 12 December will be the day after which Yeltsin will no longer have to give any pledges to the voters—the prospect of putting presidential elections off until 1996 looks more and more realistic by the day. This is why the president has theoretically two options of economic conduct in October-December. First is the speedy adoption of "stabilization" measures devised by Finance Minister Boris Fedorov.

However, the thorough implementation of the so-called "Fedorov package," which, apart from steps to cut budget expenditures calls for the introduction of tight measures to increase budget revenues, may negatively affect the process of forming a Federal Assembly that would be as loyal to Boris Yeltsin as possible. This is the reason that the president's second option appears more likely: in the two months before the elections he may limit himself to issuing edicts that, in spirit may well be in line with the idea of financial stabilization (for instance, an edict on forcing enterprises to convert their debts into promissory notes as a means to resolve the nonpayments crisis), but their practical implementation will be postponed until later.

This decision, in addition to clear political benefits, will give the president room for maneuver in economic policy. Economic maneuvering may take the traditional Russian form of paying lip service to financial stabilization against the backdrop of the inflationary financing of selected industrial enterprises. However, the president's political and economic autocracy may enable him to brush off the vote of the proponents of boosting national industry and to bet exclusively on achieving the ruble's stability. This would lead, however, to a substantial simplification of the Russian economy's structure: in experts' view, only three economic sectors will remain more or less viable—raw materials, related infrastructure, and small businesses that do not require large investment. That is, the implementation of the "monetarist" scenario may bring about the country's temporary deindustrialization. However, it will be temporary only if the stabilization of key macroeconomic indicators is followed by creating conditions for a new investment cycle. Domestic and, above all, foreign capital will give rise to centers of economic growth, which will become the crystallization points for a new industrial structure. In this regard, this year's situation differs in principle from the beginning of 1992, when the Gaydar government counted on IMF money for carrying out restructuring and financing social safety nets as it took tight fiscal measures. Presently, no one in the Russian Government pins any hopes on foreign capital for restructuring and economic growth.

Against this background, the drafting of a national development strategy may be postponed, and the initiative for determining the structural viability of one enterprise or another will continue to depend primarily on the pushing abilities of local directors or chiefs of administration. In this event, the preservation of the unwieldy and inefficient structure of the Russian economy will remain a possibility.

Dollar Cash Transactions To End in New Year

PM0810161793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 Oct 93 p 2

[A. Yevgenyev article: "Gentlemen, There Is No Need To Panic!"]

[Text] As always, first there were rumors: "The dollar is being abolished, and in the new year you will no longer be able to buy anything with foreign currency." Since many people now have dollars, marks, yen, and other foreign currencies on their hands, this caused appreciable agitation. Television explained some things. But either not everyone saw it or they did not understand everything—be that as it may, yesterday morning began with telephone calls: "What does all this mean?"

"No one has adopted a decision to end the circulation of foreign currency in the country," Dmitriy Ryzhkov, a specialist in the Central Bank Currency Rates Department, declared when we asked him to comment on the situation. "But Central Bank Chairman V. Gerashchenko really has signed a letter which states that, as of 1 January 1994, all cashless transactions relating to goods and services will be conducted both in rubles and in foreign currency, but cash transactions only in rubles. It in no way infringes the interests of possessors of hard currency. They will simply settle up for goods not directly in currency but after having first converted it into rubles—which it will be possible to do freely at any point of exchange at the current rate. Thus we have merely brought Russian practice into line with world experience."

Experts point out that this measure could to some degree exert a beneficial influence on the economy—it will put the financial system in a more civilized condition and might slow down the rate of growth in the dollar rate by reducing the dollar's attractiveness to certain sections of the population. But a side effect also cannot be ruled out, they emphasize—there are fears that goods which are now acquired exclusively with hard currency will simply disappear from the counters.

Analysts recall that it was proposed to introduce this kind of procedure as far back as 1 July 1992. But this was prevented at the time by the inadequately developed nature of the currency market.

On the whole, it is premature at present to speak of ending the dollarization of the Russian economy, many specialists believe. Of course, there is nothing good in this. But it is a sin not to see that under conditions of a multisector economy, high inflation, and a weakening ruble, the dollar fulfills very important monetary functions and, to our profound sorrow, it copes with this task far better at present than the ruble, which is weakening before our very eyes.

Banker Explains Changes in Domestic Use of Foreign Currency

PM1110092593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Oct 93 First Edition p 4

[Interview with Dmitriy Tulin, deputy chairman of the Central Bank of Russia, by Ivan Zhagel; place and date not given: "From the New Year Hard Currency Transactions in Cash Are Banned, But Hard Currency Accounts Are Retained"]

[Text] An instruction signed by Viktor Gerashchenko, chairman of the Central Bank of Russia, to the effect that from 1 January 1994 the sale of goods and services between enterprises and citizens for hard currency in cash is banned on the country's territory has provoked serious concern among possessors of dollars, Marks, and francs. IZVESTIYA asked Dmitriy Tulin, deputy chairman of the Central Bank, who is responsible for hard currency transactions, to comment on the document that has been issued.

[Tulin] I would like to note straightaway that the leadership of the Central Bank has never advocated an administrative ban on the circulation of foreign currency in Russia.

As is well known, at the beginning of 1991, when the hard currency black market reached huge proportions owing to the instability of the ruble, the Central Bank tried to legalize it somehow and began to issue licenses for trading in foreign currency to commercial enterprises. And it must be acknowledged that these enterprises brought an intrinsically new level of trade to our country. Of course, it was not accessible to everyone, but to kill such trade in one hit means to take a step backward.

Side by side with this the currencies market was actively promoted in the country, and exchange points at commercial banks, where any Russian citizen could freely exchange rubles for dollars and then acquire goods in currency stores, began to spring up like mushrooms.

Mechanisms for the rapid conversion of the ruble proceeds of stores into hard currency for the subsequent payment for imported goods purchased by them were also developed.

In these conditions a ban on paying hard currency in cash will not have a shock impact. Especially since this measure is being introduced with a certain time lag—on 1 January 1994—and the still unperfected elements can be resolved. Especially since the Central Bank's instruction does not abolish on Russian territory transactions in foreign currency in all forms accepted in international practice, including debit and credit cases, and even Russian citizens can use these.

The new instruction absolutely does not abolish the right of Russian citizens and enterprises to hold hard currency accounts. True, a number of specialists have possibly been confused by the regulation contained in the document that "on 1 January authorized banks must accept hard currency in cash 'for responsible safekeeping' from enterprises without entering it into their currency accounts." But this is a sort of control measure enabling us to verify once again whether trade enterprises are fulfilling the rule not to receive hard currency in cash for goods and services. Hard currency received as a result of foreign economic activity will be entered and kept in the accounts of enterprises.

10-Year Restriction on Resale of Land To Be Lifted

MK1010062993 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 9 Oct 93 p 2

[Nikolay Podlipskiy report: "Council of Ministers Presidium Session. Agrarian Reform in Russia Will Get Fresh Impetus"]

[Text] The Russian Government is trying to exploit to the maximum effect the absence of parliament and to make decisions that the Supreme Soviet used to oppose. The presidium session held yesterday approved a draft edict of the president proposed by Nikolay Komov, chairman of Roskomzem [possibly Russian Committee for Land Reform], "On the Regulation of Land Relations and the Development of Agrarian Reform in Russia," which lifts the 10-year moratorium on the resale of land. In addition, for the first time since 1964, the Council of Ministers examined a draft new civil code. [passage omitted]

According to government staff, the president's edict "On the Regulation of Land Relations and the Development of Agrarian Reform in Russia" is to appear as early as next week. The speedy adoption of this document is no surprise—stimulating the collapse of collective farms is virtually the only way to weaken the agrarian lobby. In this connection members of the government approved the document presented by Roskomzem which, among other things, lifts the 10-year moratorium on the sale of land. In other words, a land owner will be free to dispose of it, albeit on one condition—the plot of land should be used strictly for what it is intended. Perhaps this condition, as well as the fact that the document says nothing about the purchase of land by foreigners and provides for a continued and important role of local authorities in regulating land relations in Russia, prompted Vice Premier Anatoliy Chubays to suggest that a "more radical" variant of the edict be worked out. One can suppose that Chubays's proposals will boil down to granting the banks the right to directly dispose of land mortgaged with them (rather than by permission from local administrations, as the draft provides for).

Quite probably, Roskomzem will be able to uphold its point of view on these problems because West Europe's experience shows that in developed countries, too, freedom to dispose of land is far from universal.

Agricultural Situation Called 'Catastrophic'

LD1110164393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1405 GMT 11 Oct 93

[Text] Russia's Vice Premier in charge of agriculture, Aleksandr Zaveryukha, has sent a letter to President Yeltsin and Prime Minister Chernomyrdin which says that the situation in agriculture is catastrophic and that due to low harvesting rates, Russia is unlikely to reap much of this year's harvest.

The main cause of the delays, besides bad weather, is the absence of state subsidies and a debt to agricultural producers. At present, consumers owe agricultural enterprises more than 1.5 Tn [trillion] rubles.

Zaveryukha asked the president to urgently allocate the necessary funds for agriculture so as to save this year's crop and to ensure the supplies of agricultural produce to the population."

Russia's Ministry of Agriculture has drafted the Cabinet's resolution on measures to overcome the crisis in agriculture and to prevent the loss of this year's crop.

Money Problems Behind Slow Harvesting, Planting Rates

PM1210151593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 12 Oct 93 p 3

[Veniamin Vylegzhanin report under the "Countryside" rubric: "What Is Hindering the Harvest. Reports on Progress in the Fall Field Work Coming in From the Country's Regions Are Unfavorable. Aleksandr Basyutin, Deputy Chief of the Ministry of Agriculture Main Crop Production Administration, Comments on Them"]

[Text] The unfavorable weather conditions are affecting the rate of harvest work. Nevertheless, 76 percent of grain from sown areas has already been cut and threshed and is now in the granaries. The gross grain harvest is 83 million tonnes. The productivity per hectare has fallen from 25 quintals at the beginning of the harvest to the current 20.4.

The rate of harvesting of grain crops remains extremely low in the northern region, where only 52 percent of the harvest has been threshed, in the northwest region—65, the Ural region—66, the West Siberian region—61, and the East Siberian region—46 percent.

In addition to the weather conditions, late payment for grain which has been handed in is slowing down the rate of harvest work. Thus in Tambov Oblast the grain reception enterprises have so far paid enterprises only 20 billion out of 50 billion rubles.

If they do not receive any money, the peasants cannot buy fuel to conduct the harvest work, plow the fall plowland, and sow the winter crops. Grain is being taken on credit, but unfortunately fuel is not being provided. The president's edict on settling mutual accounts is not working in practical terms at the moment.

It would be better if some of the credits were given to the processing and procurement workers—they would then have the money to settle up with the peasants for the grain that has been handed in. And now everyone owes the producers money, but they have to pay for the credits.

Other crops are being gathered slowly too. Thus, sugar beet has been lifted on only 28 percent of the sown areas, long-stemmed flax—48 percent, and potatoes—51 percent.

I believe that the main restraining factor here is sales. Fruit and vegetable bases and vegetable stores are not accepting our output. Following privatization, it has suddenly become "disadvantageous" for them to store potatoes and sugar beet. Goods from commercial structures are another matter. For making improper use of premises, all of the income from these bases should be withdrawn into the budget.

The rate of the harvest is being hampered by the slow laying in of seed stock for next year's potato harvest. According to current figures, around 1.5 million tonnes of seed potato is laid in, while 3.2 million tonnes are needed.

Far fewer winter crops have been sown than last year. And time is passing. Finances play an important role here. All resources are now being channeled into finishing harvest work. This is an urgent matter, and is undoubtedly important, but we must not forget about the future.

I would like to mention something in this connection.

The farmers have already sown 12 million hectares to winter crops. But who can tell us if this is a lot or not? Roskhleboprodukt cannot calculate its requirements for wheat, oats, and other crops. This question has been raised, but... We must have a situation whereby the producer concludes a contract with the customer and pays 50 percent of the money in advance. This money will go into the purchase of spare parts, fertilizer, and fuels and lubricants. And next fall the farmers will sell grain at prices which have been discussed beforehand, adjusted to take inflation into account, of course. If someone does not carry out the terms of the contract, then they will have to pay a fine. At the moment, however, fines only apply to the peasants.

Government Ready for 'Open Dialogue' With Trade Unions

LD1210141993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1255 GMT 12 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Yegorov]

[Text] Moscow, October 12 (TASS)—"The results of working meetings these past few days with representatives of the Russian Trade Union Federation showed that its position began to change with respect to an extensive range of important questions. This could be the foundation for collaboration between the trade union association and the government", Russian Minister of Labor Gennadiy Melikyan said in a letter sent to the Trade Union Federation headquarters.

The letter mentioned that the September statements issued by Trade Union Federation ahead of these meetings, as well as the decisions made by the plenum on September 28, "were mainly political in character, which is at variance with the basic principles of activity and tasks of the trade unions."

As for the economic demands put forth by the federation leadership, "They are absolutely at variance with the actual situation in the country," the minister said.

Now, the letter notes, the government is "prepared for open dialogue with trade unions. It believes that, under the conditions of democratic developement, there is no alternative to social partnership and negotiations. Along with this, talks are only possible, if a responsible, constructive approach is expressed by the Federation of Trade Unions."

Council of 'Experts' Discusses Economic Reform

LD1210131193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1234 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] Moscow, October 12 (TASS)—A council of experts set up under the Russian Government has met in session on Tuesday chaired by Grigoriy Khizha. A new composition of the council was endorsed by Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin on September 27.

During the session members of the council discussed the tasks of the council at a contemporary stage of the economic reform. A report on this subject was delivered by the council's chairman G. Khizha. On the agenda was a draft programme for the development of mineral and raw material resources and geological service of the Russian Federation for 1993-1995. The draft programme was presented by Chairman of the Russian Committee for Geology and the Use of Natural Resources, V. Orlov.

Military & Space Issues

Chernomyrdin Chairs Meeting on Draft Military Doctrine

LD1210134593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1308 GMT 12 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadynayskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 12 Oct—Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin is chairing a meeting that has just started in the Russian Defense Ministry. It is focusing on the main provisions in the draft of Russia's military doctrine, the idea for organizing the Russian Federation's armed forces, and the problems involved in their reformation.

Opening the meeting, Viktor Chernomoyrdin noted that, according to the Russian Federation president's instruction, the members of the Security Council have to give an assessment of the main provisions of the draft of the doctrine on 15 October. At the present meeting the members of the government will be told in detail about the doctrine's aims, its tasks, and structure. The military doctrine will then be examined by the Russian Federation Government.

Among those taking part in the meeting are deputy prime ministers Boris Fedorov, Anatoliy Chubays, Yuriy Yarov, Sergey Shakhray, Aleksandr Shokhin, and Oleg Lobov, secretary of the Security Council.

Chernomyrdin, Grachev Discuss Military Issues

LD1210181593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1424 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin emphasized the need to finalize the Russian military doctrine at a meeting behind closed doors between numerous government presidium members and chiefs of the armed forces.

Defense Minister Pavel Grachev, who opened the meeting, suggested discussing three interrelated issues, stages in the reform and construction of the armed forces, the main provisions of the military doctrine and specific short term issues.

Chernomyrdin said that the National Security Council (NSC) regarded the military doctrine as its top priority, followed by urgent steps to pull the country out of the economic crisis and cultural revival.

"When we make up our mind on the military doctrine, we will know what to do about other issues," Chernomyrdin said. The prime minister called for a frank exchange of views on the needs of the Russian army, including financing, and emphasized that once these needs were known, "the government and president will see what they can do."

The meeting is attended by Vice Premiers Alexander Shokhin, Sergei Shakhray, Yuriy Yarov, Boris Fedorov and Anatoly Chubays, NSC secretary Oleg Lobov and members of the Defense Ministry Collegium.

Experts Predict Russian '93 Defense Expenditure

LD1210214093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1757 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] Experts from the presidential administration forecast that in 1993, Russia will spend about 6.3 trillion rubles, in late 1992 prices.

According to information which INTERFAX has learned from sources who preferred to remain anonymous, 2 trillion rubles, in addition to the above mentioned 6 trillion, will be spent for conversion and restructuring of the military-industrial complex enterprises in 1993.

Experts predict that this year the Russian Federation will spend 7.9 billion rubles to utilize nuclear materials and 47.2 billion rubles to fulfill international commitments on disarmament.

'Major' Military Exercise Begins in Volga District

LD1210201593 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1930 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] A major command and staff exercise, codenamed Tsentr, began in the Volga military district today. Command and staff of the Ural and Siberian military districts have been brought into play. Territorial administration bodies and heads of executive authorities are also involved.

The exercise participants will gain practical experience of putting the troops onto the highest level of combat readiness. They will also acquire the skills necessary to form strategic reserves.

It is the first time that an exercise of this kind has been held since the Russian Army was established.

Government Urged To Retain Parliament's 'Military Package'

PM1210152693 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Oct 93 p 1

[Article by Yuriy Gladkevich responding to readers' letters: "'Military Package' of Laws Must Be Fully Operative"]

[Text] Many readers have been contacting KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in recent days, concerned about this question: What will become of the "military package" of laws adopted at the beginning of the year? Their adoption was so eagerly awaited, so hard-won... Are they still in force after the recent dramatic events?

It is well known that the Russian president has repeatedly and unequivocally stressed that the dissolution of parliament does not mean the repeal of laws that have been adopted or any radical narrowing of their area of validity. This was also stated unequivocally in the Edict "On Legal Regulation in the Period of Phased Constitutional Reform in the Russian Federation," signed by Boris Yeltsin 7 October this year: The validity is confirmed, on the territory of the Russian Federation, of Russian Federation and Russian Federation Supreme

Soviet laws which were adopted by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet prior to 21 September 1993 and which came into force in accordance with established procedure...

So apparently there is no cause for concern here, but there is still a problem. It is no secret that the laws in the "military package," especially as regards social protection for servicemen, persons discharged from military service, and their families, were by no means always operating as they should even in the days prior to the dramatic events in the capital. The mechanism for their implementation was being set up extremely slowly, with unjustified delays. This was largely a result of manifest "dissension," the irreconcilable confrontation between the legislative and executive branches of power. Now, as a consequence of the Moscow events of early October and the decisions made by the country's leadership, one party to that confrontation has left the political stage. Parliament is no more, and obviously now the executive must assume full responsibility for the speediest possible creation of mechanisms, the provision of an appropriate material base, and the adoption of the necessary financial and organizational decisions, the absence of which was delaying the operation of the "military package" of laws.

And here, in our view, it is extremely important to ensure a unified approach to these laws on the part of all representatives of apparatus structures and all officials, along with a clear understanding of their social and political significance. Unfortunately, at the moment we are seeing a great many instances of nihilism, bureaucratic indifference, and willfulness. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA is receiving hundreds of letters asking specific questions: Why is this or that provision of the laws on the status of servicemen, military duty and military service, or servicemen's pensions not in force? KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondents turn to various government structures in the attempt to clarify when the various provisions of the laws will begin to operate. And again and again what they hear from certain bureaucrats is cynical remarks like this: Parliament adopted stupid laws, they did not consult us, so let them fulfill the laws themselves...

Furthermore, even in cases where the law is already backed up by a mechanism for implementation and various government decrees, certain leaders of local organs of power flout it without the least twinge of conscience, shamelessly following their own ambitions.

"After the disbandment of military commissariats in Lithuania, I was appointed military commissar of Vorobyevskiy Rayon in Voronezh Oblast," Lieutenant Colonel of Reserves Yuriy Dydin writes to the editorial office. "By decree of the rayon head of administration, an apartment was assigned to me. After receiving the order and occupying the apartment, I started repair work. However, some time later I was forced to seek a discharge from the Armed Forces for reasons of health and in connection with the Army cuts. Rayon Administration Head I. Dubovskoy immediately started trying to take away my family's apartment. They are demanding that we return the order, they have brought in the prosecutor and judicial bodies, which instead of defending my legitimate rights are providing 'legal' backing for these illegal attempts by the administration head..."

What is happening as regards servicemen's remuneration? In the majority of Russian families today, especially soldiers' families, every kopek counts—wages are far from being in line with the cost of living, and an enormous number of military people (the editorial office receives a great many letters to this effect) have not received their pay for some months. What does this mean to people who have no other source of income except their pay? P. Petrenko writes to the editorial office about this, on behalf of officers' wives at a military unit (Moscow Military District): "Our husbands have not received their pay for three months. Many of us do not work—there are no jobs, and so families have been without the means to exist. Well, fine, we adults will make do with dry bread. But what about the kids?..."

There are still plenty of idealists left in the country, especially in the Army. So everyone understands that reforms are not easy and entail serious economic difficulties, but sometimes these difficulties are all too painfully combined with human misery, tears, and disappointments. So do you exacerbate them with bungling and arbitrariness on the part of civil servants and the lack of elementary compassion?...

The further you go from Moscow, the more clearly all this emerges. Apparently the stereotyped provincial bureaucrat is alive and kicking, the type who preaches this principle: I'm the boss here, nobody tells me what to do... And how easy it is for him to yield to temptation—since parliament is no more, the laws it adopted can be "written off." Never mind what they say in Moscow, he says, I know what to do without being told. It is now extremely important resolutely to rebuff bureaucratic tyranny.

After all, surely these "military" laws were not only the product of the former Supreme Soviet's activity? Many others were involved in formulating the legislative base—the government and social organizations, ministries and departments, the Russian president's apparatus and ordinary citizens. All the laws were signed by the president of Russia. Can rampant bureaucracy be allowed to erase all this?

It is particularly worrying that even some lawyers are beginning to say that it would be no bad thing to revise the entire legacy—even the legislative legacy—of the former Supreme Soviet. Sure, it is doubtless necessary to improve the legislative base. And presumably the new Federal Assembly will deal with this. But it should be a question of improving it, not unthinkingly discarding a legislative base that was created for people's benefit and which regulates very important aspects of our life.

In any case, the servicemen's rights and privileges laid down in the "defense package" of laws should be fully operative. This should be adopted, if you like, as a political and legal axiom. It is not subject to any revision or review.

'Power Ministers' Awards Questioned

PM1210124593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Oct 93 First Edition p 4

[Ed. Polyanovskiy article: "Awards Instead of Official Investigation"]

[Text] Even before the tears have dried, even before there has been time to bury the real heroes, the privates or junior officers who were in the firing line, even before the dozens of bodies in Moscow morgues have been identified, even before the missing have been found;

even before there has been any investigation to discover whose fault it was that "Ostankino," City Hall, ITAR-TASS, and "Ekho Moskvy" were practically undefended and all Muscovites were undefended while the soldiers and militiamen who were supposed to be defending them and were right up against the bandits, eyeball to eyeball, were virtually unarmed, having only nightsticks and shields;

even before the defenseless defenders themselves have any idea why they were left by their chiefs to be torn to pieces for hours and even before the rest of the world has even the faintest idea why the all-powerful power ministers were so thoughtfully slow to act, catastrophically slow to act, almost criminally slow to act;

even before Muscovites, Russians, and the entire world have recovered from the shock;

even before the grieving is over, when tomorrow and the day after tomorrow people are going to be carried from hospital wards to morgues and when so much grief and so many tears are yet to come,

the ministers, those selfsame all-powerful power ministers, have already been ceremonially presented with Russia's highest awards, for personal courage.

But I thought there would be an official investigation—of all three.

In the middle of the night, almost before dawn, when there had already been plenty of bloodshed and when the unarmed residents of the deserted, paralyzed capital had been urged hastily to defend Russia, the president's press secretary told Muscovites that they were reliably protected by the militia and troops. Now, on the eve of the awards for the top brass, he has enshrined and secured this thought by directive, officially declaring any other opinion to be "dubious fantasy" and calling on the press "not to give space or airtime to deliberate or involuntary provocateurs."

I think that the hasty awards are themselves a provocation. After all, if you wanted somehow to discredit the victors and compromise the president of Russia, you could not devise any better means of doing so.

It seems that all Russians have independently realized and decided: This is not a victory, not a red-letter day, it is a calamity, a national tragedy. And the president addressed his fellow citizens with sorrowful words, not with fanfares. It is as though different people are pushing him in different directions. He read out what they had written: calamity, mourning. Then he was prodded from the other side: This is certainly not a tragedy but a victory and a red-letter day, we must present awards—urgently, while the graves are still fresh.

It is not holding a different opinion that is dangerous, on the contrary, it is dangerous not to hold a different opinion about these days and about the price that was paid, it is dangerous not to draw realistic conclusions. We have been winners all too often recently.

Back in August 1991 as well, Yeltsin did not immediately act against the "bloody junta" but acted several hours later (much later it emerged that he had been holding talks with the criminals). The troops who entered Moscow then were not armed. The armored vehicles had no ammunition, and there were not even any cartridges for the officers' side arms. Unarmed civilians were eventually summoned to defend democracy. Even old people, women, and children came.

When a threat of the storming of a government building also arose in January 1991 in Estonia, Edgar Savisaar, by contrast, called on people not to assemble in the square in front of his residence. The government's duty, he said, is to ensure citizens' safety and not to put them in the firing line. I think Allende acted in similar fashion in Chile in 1973.

I am absolutely convinced that back in 1991 Yeltsin did not want to turn people into "cannon fodder." That leaves only one, rather immoral possibility: The president knew that there would be no storming of the building.

As in a mediocre school, we are going back over old ground.

But not in every respect. Back then three people died, and, let us be blunt, their deaths were absurd, they were not fired on at close range. Nevertheless, Russia's leader came up with human words of penitence:

"Forgive me for being unable to defend and protect your sons."

Today hundreds have been killed and maimed, not as a result of absurd mischance—people were aiming at them. This time no personal penitence has been expressed. It is obviously difficult to express penitence twice for the same thing.

Back then too there was an attempt at heroization. Yeltsin had the intelligence to refuse a Gold Star.

This time, by presenting lofty awards to his powerful supporters, he has saved them not only from official investigation but also from sober self-assessment.

Never mind, we will survive one more hero-general—it is not as though they have been a rare commodity. We will also survive the fact that those who ought to have received awards did not do so—worthy but undecorated people have not been exactly rare either.

Nevertheless, I want to investigate the following: Why, for instance, is Viktor Yerin now a Hero [of the Russian Federation] and an army general while the two other power ministers are also heroes, but not quite such big heroes—they were awarded, also for personal courage, only the second highest decoration. Unless someone explains to me the reason, I will naively think that all three showed the same degree of mettle in the same conditions, but it's just that the defense minister already has one Gold Star and two would be a bit much for a young minister in peacetime; while the other minister, the security minister, has not been in this post long, so... If this is the explanation, I may conclude that this is a commonplace apparatus reward as with the old party mutual back-scratchers, when a Gold Star (I repeat, awarded for personal, specific courage!) became a jubilee award and was presented as a birthday gift, sometimes along with the rank of marshal. Out of the same naivete and ignorance I may even suppose that all three have been awarded so that the president can go to Japan with an easy mind.

To prevent such bad thoughts, it is important for me, like the other Muscovites who took to the streets when the summons came and by virtue of this alone deserve to know the truth, and like all Russians, before whose eyes everything happened, to know: When a mass of people die in the front line during peacetime is this a result of personal heroism in high offices or of a marshal's strategy?

I am prepared to believe that all the militia and all soldiers, to the last man, were at their combat posts that day, evening, and night; that the people who assembled at Moscow City Soviet that night at the summons of Gaydar and Popov were not civilians; and that the people there, including the old men, children, and old women whom I saw myself that night, were nothing other than militiamen in disguise who were armed to the teeth.

Admittedly, I am bothered by the admission of Gaydar himself, as honest as a foolish child, who, when he was asked one week later, on the evening of 10 October on television's "Itogi" program, why he had summoned peaceful citizens, cited the situation, saying:

"There was no certainty..."

There was a vague rumor that on the eve of the tragedy the minister of internal affairs was seen at night without his bodyguard. But that deserves punishment. I knew a commander who displayed personal courage. After making a mess of the defenses, he appeared on the front line, where the bullets were flying. This was on the Leningrad front, and the marshal's name was Klim Voroshilov.

We won that war, as Andrey Platonov said, "with our bellies": Our barricades were mountains of bodies—untrained ordinary soldiers unprepared for war. By flinging themselves across embrasures, they concealed the staff's blunders. There are many decorations that are still seeking the heroes who earned them, but no decoration ever arrived late at staff headquarters.

The Russian people are truly great. There is certainly no people to rival them for selflessness and valor. There is no other people who have shed as much of their own blood because of their rulers' cowardice or cruelty, there is no other people behind whom it is so convenient to take refuge at any fateful moment.

They have been exploited yet again with the call to "resist," and when the danger passed they were treated like cattle. This happened from one hour to the next.

As Vysotskiy says:

"Another star came spinning down

"And landed on your shoulder boards."

...We had long known that they would be killed. They were in the gunsights for over two years and another 11 days after 21 September.

We knew that you would be killed.

Fate of Missing Internal Troops Discussed

PM1210143093 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 12 Oct 93 p 1

["Own Information" report: "Fate of Members of Dzerzhinskiy Division Unknown"]

[Text] During the October events the Ministry of Internal Affairs Internal Troops lost five men killed in Moscow. Another 10 Dzerzhinskiy Division soldiers simply disappeared.

Yesterday one of them was found. According to a Dzerzhinskiy Division staff officer, the soldier was taken prisoner by White House defenders during their successful assault on City Hall. He was carted off to the House of the Soviets along with several colleagues. He was first roughed up and then... given a home pass and ordered not to fight against the people any more. The soldier decided to "keep out of harm's way" and did indeed head for home even before the storming of the White House.

It is not known how many Dzerzhinskiy Division soldiers were "liberated." Enquiries are now being carried out at places of residence, but it cannot be ruled out that some of them died as the White House was shot at and then stormed.

Spacecraft Launched To Carry Goods to 'Mir' Complex

LD1210010793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0029 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] Moscow, 12 Oct (ITAR-TASS)—In keeping with the program of the "Mir" scientific research complex, the "Progress M-20" automatic cargo ship was launched at 0033 hours on 12 October [2133 GMT on 11 October].

The launch was carried out with the aim of delivering various materials and cargo to the "Mir" manned complex.

The "Progress M-20" has been placed in an orbit with the following parameters: apogee—242 km; perigee—191 km; initial period of revolution—88,51 mins; orbital inclination—51,6 deg.

According to telemetry information, the apparatus aboard the "Progress M-20" automatic cargo ship is working normally.

Launch Completes '93 Flight Program

LD1210183593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1425 GMT 12 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS string correspondent Semen Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow October 12 TASS—The "Progress M-20" automatic supply spacecraft which was put into an earth orbit on Tuesday will be coupled with the "Mir" orbital complex on October 14.

The launch brings to an end the 1993 programme of flights to the "Mir" orbital complex.

In accordance with the programme, two manned missions aboard "Soyuz-TM" space ships were implemented and five "Progress-TM" supply spacecrafts were launched. The cosmonauts made five egresses into outer space, with a total duration of 19 hours 20 minutes.

In connection with the accomplishment of the yearly programme, it was decided to prolong the term of the 14th main expedition (cosmonauts Vasiliy Tsibliyev and Aleksandr Serebrov) from 146 to 195 days.

The 15th main expedition is scheduled for January 1994.

Proton Rocket To Enter World Launch Market

LD0910123893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1156 GMT 9 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS freelance correspondent Semyon Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow October 9 TASS—The successful launch of the heavy Proton rocket-booster carrying a Raduga communications spacecraft on September 30 from the Baykonur space-launching grounds done by the Russian aero-space forces was the first after the Proton accident on May 27.

That was the 28th accident since the beginning of Proton launches on July 16, 1965.

Nevertheless, the accident did not tell on signing of the September agreement between the STS Australian space company and Russian space enterprises and organizations on construction of a private space launching grounds in the north of Papua New Guinea with a facility to launch Proton rocket-boosters in a 20 year period.

The overall cost of the project to be fulfilled in the early 21st century is estimated at 600-900 million dollars. The project does not provide for financing from the Russian budget.

The Proton rocket-booster was developed in the early 1960s and is the only heavy rocket booster capable of putting spacecraft on geo-stationary orbits. The cost of one launch on the world market amounts to 15-20 million dollars.

The Khrunichev Center, which makes the Proton, has most integrated with the world market of automatic spacecraft launches. It has concluded an agreement with the U.S. Lockheed corporation to set up a Khrunichev-Lockheed joint venture and use the Proton rocket boosters at the world market.

A contract with the Motorola company will result in the launch of Iridii satellites of the low-orbit communications system. There is also a contract to use the Proton rocket booster to put on the orbit an Inmarsat-3 U.S. artificial earth satellite.

The U.S. Rimsat company plans to use Russian Gorizont and Express satellites launched by the Proton rocket-booster from the Baykonur space-launching grounds to render services to subscribers in the Pacific region.

The new U.S. Mars Observer satellite to replace a similar spacecraft that ran out of order on the Mars orbit in late August will, possibly, be launched by Proton next year.

State of Emergency in Moscow

Moscow Mayor Praises Kulikov, Militia

LD1210151893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1435 GMT 12 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Sugak]

[Text] Moscow, 12 Oct—At the latest session of the Moscow government, Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov, on behalf of the city administration, congratulated the already promoted Colonel General of Militia Aleksandr Kulikov, commandant of the state of emergency zone, Lieutenant General Vladimir Pankratov, Major General of Militia Dmitriy Ivanov, and Major General of Militia Vitaliy Kosarev on their promotion to the next higher rank.

The mayor highly assessed the work of the Moscow militia during the October events. He remarked that its resultative actions were directly linked with the goals it was set. The Moscow militia, the mayor emphasized, had conducted itself in a worthy manner and right to the end had fulfilled the task set by the Russian president—to avert bloodshed.

Col. Gen. of Militia Aleksandr Kulikov reported to the Moscow government on the results of the eight days during which the city was under the state of emergency.

In that period, 839 citizens were detained for crimes, 740 criminal cases were instituted, 33,976 administrative violations were registered, there were 22,277 violations of the curfew, 3,457 people were expelled from Moscow, 34,000 road transportation units were inspected, and 1,837 cars stopped for checking.

Kulikov Reports on Enforcement of State of Emergency

PM1210134193 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 12 Oct 93 p 1

[Dmitriy Babich and Boris Glebov report: "'Illegals' Kicked Out of Moscow"]

[Text] At a news conference yesterday Aleksandr Kulikov, commandant of Moscow, said that 1,005 people had been kicked out of Moscow during the state of emergency period. In the event of a violation of the passport regime, people are even removed from hotels (particularly if illegal guests are found in the room). The commandant boasted that crime in the city had fallen 16 percent during this period, and only 126 crimes had been committed at night. Since 5 October there have been only two instances of militiamen coming under fire.

When KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA asked why cars without Moscow plates were being stopped in the city, the commandant replied that the presidential edict restricted entry into Moscow. State Motor Vehicle Inspection Administration posts are checking cars at entry points to the city, and are only letting through trucks carrying vegetables and goods for Muscovites. Two kinds of passes are in force in the city during the curfew—those issued by the commandant (with a red stamp) and those issued by precinct chiefs. In Kulikov's opinion, the state of emergency will most probably not be extended past 18 October. Kulikov invited journalists to take part in the militia's work to ensure the state of emergency.

The commandant announced that sappers have already left the "White House," after sweeping its basement floors clear of mines. Former People's Deputy Aleksandr Pochinok has been instructed to take an inventory of the remaining "White House" property.

The main problem for the commandant now is observing legality. After all, the passport system in Moscow was annulled by a law which was ratified not only by the mutinous Supreme Soviet but also by President Yeltsin. Consequently, there should now be a prosecutor on duty in every precinct to monitor observance of citizens' rights. But this is not always possible. Some 14,000 people were arrested on one night. That is why Kulikov has promised to take strict measures—including dismissal—against militiamen who commit offenses.

Expects Decree To Strengthen Crime Fight

LD1210177693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1424 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] With emergency regulations and the curfew in Moscow due to be lifted next Monday [18 October], President Yeltsin is expected to endorse a new decree to stiffen law and order and step up fight on crime throughout Russia as he returns from a visit to Japan on Wednesday [13 October]. One of its sections deals with the situation in Moscow, Commandant for the State of Emergency in the capital General Kulikov told a meeting of the Mayor's Office on Tuesday.

He said the decree provides sweeping powers to prosecutors and courts in dealing with cases of obstruction of police, testimony and investigation. Kulikov said the paper was initialled and is pending endorsement.

The police official said that a special police unit would be set up to detain vagrants for up to 20 days.

On policing, Kulikov said that daily patrolling involves 4,500 city and 4,692 regional policemen and 1,212 members of the security forces spread all over Moscow's districts.

As many as 839 people have been detained for curfew violations since October 4, 740 of them on criminal charges, he said. The police official put the number of people detained for minor offenses at 33,976, including 22,277 for curfew violations. A total of 3,457 people were made to leave the city while 10,000 others left Moscow of their own accord.

Kulikov put the number of illegal weapons seized during the past week at 94 firearms, 83 cold steel, 17 explosive devices and about 3,000 rounds of ammunition. About 5 kg of drugs were also seized. Out of a total of 34,000 vehicles inspected, 1,837 were impounded.

Moscow Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov, in a speech at the meeting, praised the efficiency with which the Moscow police had acted in crushing the recent rebellion and in the days preceding it. The police were well-organized and well-disciplined, he said, adding that the President and Interior Minister were both of the same view.

Luzhkov said the Moscow police force had handled brilliantly its task of avoiding provocation or being drawn into confrontation, which could have lead to violence and subsequent loss of life.

Servicemen's Curfew Violation Noted

PM1310084993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Oct 93 p 1

[Vasiliy Fatigarov report: "Officers Have No Privileges During Curfew"]

[Text] We have been informed by Pavel Sviridov, chief of the temporary press center under the Moscow commandant, that the weekend in the city passed off peacefully and that there was no burst of activity by criminal elements. Neither were there any attempts to organize rallies.

When the curfew was in force from midnight to 0500 hours on Saturday-Sunday [9-10 October] and Sunday-Monday nights there were 55 arrests for various crimes, 3,131 arrests for administrative violations, and 5,763 arrests for breaking the curfew. Criminal proceedings were instituted in 29 cases. Six hundred and twenty-three people were expelled from the capital. Sixty-five firearms, 14 bladed weapons, and 659 rounds of ammunition were confiscated and 8,266 vehicles were examined, of which 346 were detained.

Unfortunately, military personnel were not above committing violations. Major General Igor Rubtsov, deputy Moscow troops commandant, explained that servicemen do not enjoy any advantages when the curfew is in force. Like other citizens they will be detained if they appear on the streets without a residence permit between midnight and 0500 hours. Furthermore, the general noted, besides an identity card every officer, warrant officer, and serviceman on extended service is obliged to carry at all times a residence document confirming his place of residence in Moscow. Without this document a serviceman could be detained until this information has been verified during the day.

The duration of the state of emergency had been extended for another week. Muscovites are actively assisting the militia. Dozens of volunteer people's militia detachments have been formed.

Police Detain Curfew Violators

LD1310075393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0739 GMT 13 Oct 93

[Text] Moscow October 13 ITAR-TASS—According to the Moscow commandant's press service, from 00.00 to 05.00 on Wednesday, October 13, police and Interior Ministry troops detained:

Fifty-one people involved in crimes;

One thousand six hundred and thirty-five people for administrative offenses;

Two thousand nine hundred and fifty-seven people for violating the curfew.

Three hundred and seventy-eight people were sent out of Moscow.

During the curfew in Moscow, law officers seized six guns, 11 cold steel weapons, 1,389 rounds of ammunition and more than 5000 grams of narcotics.

During the curfew hours, 3,215 cars were inspected and 95 detained.

Police Report 'Near Perfect Situation' in Moscow

LD1310083493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0758 GMT 13 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Pavel Kuznetsov]

[Text] Moscow October 13 TASS—Moscow was a peaceful town on Wednesday [13 October] morning with just a few insignificant crimes marring the otherwise near perfect situation. It seems that many days of "purges" involving considerable numbers of law officers are yielding comfortable results.

The officer on duty at Moscow's main directorate of internal affairs sounded optimistic despite a sleepless night as he spoke to ITAR-TASS over the telephone this morning. He said the militia was mainly engaged in removing from the city people without residence permit and patrolling the streets.

The officer on duty in the firefighting department of the Moscow government said no major conflagrations were reported. A fur shop in Zelenograd caught fire and several doors, dumps and shacks were found smoldering.

The duty officer at the Moscow traffic inspectorate said no car thefts were reported during the curfew. He said it was a peaceful night.

Regional Affairs

Yeltsin Sets Up Mordovia Mission, Sacks Belgorod Official

LD1110144593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1357 GMT 11 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 11 Oct—Boris Yeltsin issued a decree today on setting up a mission of the Russian president in Mordovia, the head of state's press service reported. Valentin Konakov has been appointed the president's permanent representative in this republic.

With another decree, Yeltsin removed from office Viktor Berestovoy, head of the administration of Belgorod Oblast, for his "systematic failure to implement" the Russian president's decree No. 1400 of 21 September. Yevgeniy Savchenko has been appointed in his place.

Local Soviets Discuss Yeltsin Edict on Self-Dissolution

Krasnoyarsk, Irkutsk, Ufa, Omsk, Kirov, Chelyabinsk

LD1210102593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1005 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] Moscow, October 12 (ITAR-TASS)—In pursuance of the Russian president's decree on reform of the representative bodies of state authority and local government in the Russian Federation, all regions of Russia have begun work to reform their systems of state power.

Under the decree, a federal commission has been set up which is entrusted with submitting, before October 15, proposals for organizing new bodies of representative power in territories and regions of the Russian Federation, as well as local governments in towns, districts, villages and settlements.

ITAR-TASS reports from the provinces about work being done in this direction.

Krasnoyarsk (East Siberia):

Chairman of the territorial soviet (Council of People's Deputies) Vyacheslav Novikov called "erroneous" that part in president Yeltsin's decree which calls for the dissolution of soviets (Councils of People's Deputies) in villages and settlements. He believes that the decision on this issues should have been delegated to the relevant bodies of state authority in cities and districts.

On the whole, Novikov finds the idea of reforming of representative bodies of power "quite timely". Along with this, he is against making haste with local elections: It would be wrong to set the date for local elections on the same date as for the elections to the federal bodies of power - it will take some time to prepare local elections properly.

Irkutsk (East Siberia):

"We are facing the strengthening and even dictatorship of the federal executive power, but this is justifiable in the present circumstances," said Yuriy Nozhikov, the head of administration of the Irkutsk region, commenting on the president's decree of political reform.

Along with this he said that personally he would continue to defend the interests of the territory.

Nozhikov is known in Siberia as a staunch champion of greater rights of Russian regions, mainly in the economic spheres.

Ufa (the Urals):

Events at today's session of the Supreme Soviet (Council of People's Deputies) of the republic can take an unpredictable turn. The recent violence in Moscow necessitated considerable changes to the session agenda which was announced in advance. On the eve of the session, the local media called for adopting the republic's own constitution without delay, electing Bashkortostan's own president and establishing a constitutional court. Along with this, other calls were also made public - urging the deputies to step down and begin a new election campaign.

Omsk (Siberia):

The head of administration of the Omsk region Leonid Polezhayev ordered an end to activity of all soviets (Councils of People's Deputies) in the city of Omsk, villages and settlements across the region. Their functions are vested in respective administrations until new bodies of representative power and local government are elected and begin to work.

The executive and administrative functions, which were earlier vested in the regional, city and district soviets (councils), are also transferred to the administrations.

In order to avoid conflicts and preserve stability, it has been decided to set up a conciliatory commission of the regional council and the administration. The first meeting of the conciliatory commission will be held on Wednesday.

Kirov (European Russia, North of Moscow):

The situation which arose in the wake of the publication of the president 's decree was considered by an extraordinary meeting of the working soviet (Council of the city of Kirov). Most deputies agreed that reform was dictated by the call of the time. But the proposal for the dissolution of the city soviet (council) put forth by the mayor of Kirov, Anzheliy Mikheyev, was not seconded. Mikheyev also proposed that the council be replaced with a consultative group at the city administration.

The soviet came up with a "softer" idea of preserving the representative body of power in the city by either reforming the soviet (Council of People's Deputies) or transferring its functions to a renewed working council.

It was then decided to call an extraordinary session of the city soviet (council) on October 13 to adopt a final decision on the question.

Chelyabinsk (the Urals):

Chairman of the Chelyabinsk Regional Soviet (Council of People's Deputies) Anatoliy Nacharov views the resolution by the head of the regional administration, who ordered the suspension of the activity of the regional soviet, with equanimity, even though he sees it as illegitimate. The president did not grant any such rights to the local administration heads, he told ITAR-TASS.

Along with this, Nacharov said he did not regard the move as a sign of further confrontation between the executive and representative powers. "We look at this document with equanimity and will act within the frame of law," he said. "In any case, we shall take care of every member of our personnel", he said.

Council members have already begun preparations for the December 12 elections, he said. Nacharov expressed confidence that the newly-elected bodies of power will need skilled desk-workers who are now employed by the regional council.

Yakutia, Karelia, Irkutsk

MK1210105893 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Oct 93 pp 1, 2

[Report by Radik Batyrshin under the "Regions" rubric: "The President Wants to Resolve All Problems in One Fell Swoop. The Soviets Are Being Dissolved Practically Everywhere. Elections Have Also Been Scheduled to the Upper Chamber of the Federal Assembly. Possibly, on 11 and 12 December a Referendum on the Constitution Will Be Held and Even Elections to Some Municipal Bodies"]

[Text] Boris Yeltsin's 9 October edict "On Reforming Representative Power Bodies and Local Self-Government Bodies in the Russian Federation" has become the final chord in the president's offensive on the intransigent provincial soviets. It is noteworthy that it followed the same scheme as the "work" with the Constitutional Court. First the president recommended that the soviets reconsider their decision on edict No. 1400 and then advised the soviets that had made a "wrong" decision to dissolve themselves, and finally—the edict. Boris Yeltsin terminated the activity of district soviets in cities, city soviets in rayons and settlements, and also rural soviets. The edict takes away all "executive and administrative functions provided for by Russian Federation laws" from the soviets of krays, oblasts, autonomous districts and oblasts, Moscow, and St. Petersburg, leaving them only the power to approve the budget, and even that with the consent of the head of administration. Moreover, should a soviet dissolve itself or in the event that there is no quorum, under the president's edict the functions of representative power bodies will be assumed by the local administration. The edict orders the creation of new representative power bodies consisting of between 15 and 50 deputies and operating on a permanent basis. Before 15 October a special commission set up under this edict will define the dates for early elections to these bodies and "their legal provisions." Paragraph six of the 9 October edict appears to define the direction of the president's next offensive. It recommends to the leadership of the republics to "address the question of reforming the bodies of state power and local self-government in light of the present edict." A preemptive move toward Yeltsin's edict has been a statement by President Mikhail Nikolayev of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia). Prior to the promulgation of the edict, he stated at a press conference in Yakutsk that "the time of the soviets is passing away." The Yakut president invited the republic's Supreme Soviet to go ahead with early elections on 12 December. A new Yakutia parliament, according to Nikolayev, should consist of two chambers. In the upper chamber there will be 15 to 17 deputies who will deal with legislative problems. The lower chamber, in the president's view, will include representatives of local self-government bodies and will address economic problems. The local representative power bodies in Yakutia should exist only in the republic's three major cities while in the other rayons there will be only heads of administrations who will be elected at local assemblies [skhody], Mikhail Nikolayev said. He warned the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) that if his proposals are not accepted by parliament, he will issue an appropriate edict. However, no conflict occurred. On Saturday a session of the Yakutia Supreme Soviet Presidium took place. Yakut Parliamentary Chairman Kliment Ivanov summed up its results: "Everything that is good for President Nikolayev is good for Yakutia." He stated that the republic's Supreme Soviet will support Mikhail Nikolayev's initiatives.

The Supreme Soviet of Karelia acted differently. It decided to submit to the 11 and 12 December republican referendum a question on early elections to the Karelian parliament. But this question, according to the republic's Supreme Soviet Chairman Viktor Stepanov, is not paramount. "The main question will be the introduction of the post of president of Karelia," he said in an interview with NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA. According to Stepanov, "the post of the republic's president is a form of protecting Karelia's sovereignty against the increasing authoritarian trends in Russia." In addition, the question of the structure and composition of the republic's future parliament will be put to a referendum. In Stepanov's opinion, the referendum is the best way to avoid accusations of the illegitimacy of the existing Supreme Soviet in Karelia.

Boris Yeltsin's 9 October edict also defines the status of the future Federation Council. Clearly, even if the heads of the soviets of krays and republics take part in it, they will do so in the capacity of "impoverished relatives." It will be recalled that some of them have already announced either their dissolution or early elections. The chairmen of the republics' Supreme Soviets have found themselves in a similar situation (13 of 20 parliaments of the former autonomies ruled edict No. 1400 unconstitutional).

Chairman of the Irkutsk Oblast Soviet Viktor Ignatenko told NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA that he not only supports Boris Yeltsin's 9 October edict, but he actually took part in its elaboration. Ignatenko believes that the president's edict creates legal channels to reform the representative branch at the local level since "mere fresh elections or self-dissolution of the soviets will not yield any results." Ignatenko thinks that Boris Yeltsin should issue an edict and establish standard regulations on the body of representative power in the krays and oblasts and also an interim statute on local self-government. He said that in December an Irkutsk Oblast Parliament will be elected. According to Ignatenko, "the Soviets at present are demoralized and the main thing is not to go too far." He stressed that the upper chamber of the federal parliament—the Federation Council—should be elected by the entire population. "Otherwise it will be a house of 'lords'—regional bosses who may bury all decisions by the lower chamber," believes the chairman of the Irkutsk Oblast Soviet. In his opinion, the fact that the majority of heads of administrations who are members of the Federation Council have been appointed by the president does not strengthen its legitimacy. "A new federal parliament should approve a new statehood for the Russian Federation, and therefore it must be fully legitimate," the head of the Irkutsk Oblast Soviet thinks.

Khabaravsk, Altay, Barnaul, Volgograd, Sochi

PM1210125393 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 12 Oct 93 p 1

[Olga Gerasimenko report: "For Some Reason the Soviets Are Reluctant To Have Their Heads Cut Off"]

[Text] It is now clear that the universal "desovietization" announced by the Russian president a week ago is scarcely going to turn into a triumphal procession at local level.

And the farther away from Moscow you get, the more problematic does the capital's "brainwave" appear to the local political establishment.

As our correspondent Galina Mironova reports from Khabarovsk, the kray's Inner Soviet is planning to assemble today to resolve an "organizational matter," but increasingly persistent voices are saying that money should not be spent on these gatherings and that the soviets should be dissolved by a strong-arm gesture on the part of the local governor.

The Altay Inner Soviet is continuing to hold sessions. The Altay's deputies, supported by the city soviets of the kray's biggest cities, unambiguously advocate simultaneous early elections for both branches of power. According to reports by our Barnaul correspondent Sergey Kuzmin, a kray session is scheduled for 14 October, but it is already virtually clear that it is pointless to expect it to dissolve itself.

Nor is Volgograd intending to part with its soviets. At the oblast soviet session held 9 October, the question of dissolution "fell through": It was resolved to carry on until the elections.

However, not everywhere at local level do the representatives of the two branches of power think "in unison." Yesterday, for example, Sochi City Soviet deputies found their offices sealed. According to the explanation given by local Administration Head Nikolay Karpov, this was done in conformity with the edict of the president and the instruction of Krasnodar Kray Mayor Nikolay Yegorov. Sochi's deputies are left in a quandary.

Doubts as to the advisability of "the attempts to chop off the heads of the soviet hydra forthwith by revolutionary means" are already being voiced by members of Yeltsin's Presidential Council like Andranik Migranyan, for example. The next few weeks will show how feasible the idea of dissolving the soviets at a stroke is. It should not be forgotten that they are 80 years old.

Tambov, Kirov, Nalchik, Balkaria

LD1210141193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0921 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] Moscow October 12 ITAR-TASS—After Russian President Boris Yeltsin disbanded the Supreme Soviet (SS) of the Russian Federation and allowed the local soviets (councils of people's deputies) to decide their own fate, the local bodies of representative power across the Russian Federation are pondering their own reform or dissolution.

Tambov (central Russia):

The Tambov Regional Soviet (council of people's deputies) made clear its intention to continue work by an overwhelming majority vote against putting the question about self-dissolution on the agenda of its extraordinary session today.

Along with this, the people's deputies decided to annul their decision of September 23 which proclaimed "unconstitutional" the Russian president's decree dissolving the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation.

The session condemned the violence in Moscow which resulted in the death of civilians and agreed with the president's proposal for the creation of conditions for the elections to the State Duma, the lower chamber of Russia's new-type legislature.

The session said it was necessary to hold pre-term elections for regional bodies of representative power after electing the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation.

Kirov (north-west Russia):

"In the present conditions stripping the soviet (council) of its most important powers, I do not think it is possible for me to exercise leadership amd I shall ask the session for resignation," said Aleksandr Kostin, head of the Regional Soviet, addressing the working council in Kirov today.

The working council considered Russian President Boris Yeltsin's decree on reform of local bodies of representative power and local government in the Russian Federation and decided to move that the Kirov Regional Soviet (council of people's deputies) dissolve itself at the council's upcoming extraordinary session.

Nalchik (the Caucasus):

The situation has been growing increasingly tense in Nalchik since the Russian president's decree on political reform was published. President Valeriy Kokov of the Kabardian Balkar Republic has spoken out in support of the president's move, while the republic's Supreme Soviet has opposed it. The Supreme Soviet wants to retain its powers and local soviets in their present form.

Representatives of the National Council of the Balkar People and the League for Revival of Balkaria back President Yeltsin and have requested that conditions be created to facilitate the fulfilment of the president's decree.

The Congress of the Balkar People declined to take part in the elections to the State Duma. The lower chamber of Russia's new legislature. [sentence as received]

Stavropol, Krasnodar, Tomsk, Novogrod, Kurgan

LD1210200293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1557 GMT 12 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Nikolay Styazhkin]

[Text] Stavropol October 12 TASS—Stavropol - members of the minor council of people's deputies of the Stavropol region have voted for reforming the Stavropol council of people's deputies into the regional state duma or the regional legislative assembly at a session of the council held today.

Some members of the council suggested that the regional council discuss that representative (municipal) assembly, numbering 10-25 deputies, be elected in districts and towns of the Stavropol region to work on a permanent basis.

Chelyabinsk - by ITAR-TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Tkachenko:

The minor council of the Chelyabinsk city council has dismissed the idea of self-dissolution, suggested by the head of the regional administration Vadim Solovev, as groundless. This is confirmed in a resolution adopted by the council. Nevertheless, the minor council has supported a stage-by-stage reform of the bodies of the representative power and believes it expedient to hold early elections in December.

"People's deputies of the Chelyabinsk city council are persistently conducting the policy of reforms in close contact with the city administration," Petr Matushkin, chairman of the council, told ITAR-TASS. "There are no grounds not to trust us," he added.

Krasnodar- by ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Zhilyakov:

An extraordinary session of the Krasnodar regional council failed to take place because of the lack of quorum. On Monday, a session of the minor council was held during which the governor of the Krasnodar region, Nikolay Yegorov, suggested that the council dissolve itself. However, participants in the session rejected the proposal. The session has been adjourned until Wednesday.

Tomsk - by ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Yakushev:

Head of the regional administration of the Tomsk region Viktor Kress has suggested that local people's deputies dissolve themselves and that new elections be called. Addressing deputies, Kress said that victims of the Moscow uprising have fully discredited both representative power at a federal level and its extremist leaders. He said that bodies of the representative power in regions, including the Tomsk regional council, which, despite appeals made by the administration and many deputies unequivocally came out in support of the parliament dissolved by the president and against the president's latest decisions, shared the responsibility for tragic events in Moscow.

The head of the Tomsk administration pointed out that the position of the regional council was becoming increasingly different from the opinion of the majority of the region's population. This can be seen from the results of a recent referendum which did not support the regional council on the problem of the region's status.

Novgorod - by ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Troyanovskiy: Over 20 people's deputies of the regional council have called on the council to dissolve itself at a session of the minor council which discussed the president's decree on the reform of representative bodies of power and bodies of local government. Speakers pointed out that an extraordinary session of the regional council had, in fact, supported the former parliament by recognizing decree no. 1400 unconstitutional.

The minor council has resolved to call an extraordinary session of the regional council on october 20 expected to finally decide the fate of the regional council.

Kurgan - by itar-tass correspondent oleg cherepanov:

people's deputies of the kurgan region are reluctant to give up power. On tuesday, the minor council of the regional council of peoples' deputies has failed to pass a resolution on self- dissolution. This question will be discussed at an extraordinary session of the regional council scheduled for october 19.

Earlier, it was announced that the council had overruled the president's decree "on a stage-by-stage" constitutional reform by a majority vote at its session in september and came out in support of the Russian parliament.

An extraordinary session of the Kurgan city council, held on Monday, had failed to pass a resolution on self-dissolution, although the resolution was backed by 63 out of 89 deputies present. However, the number of votes were not enough to pass the resolution, since 34 deputies were absent.

Arkhangelsk, Kaluga, Pskov, Saratov

LD1210205893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1701 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] Bryansk October 12 TASS—The administration of the Bryansk region warned the regional and city soviets that if they do not dissolve themselves the administration would disband them on October 15.

The administration which opposed the presidential decree dissolving the federal parliament canceled its previous decision which ruled that Boris Yeltsin's decree was invalid on the territory of the region.

The regional council, however, is not going to cede that easily and said it would discuss the warning of the administration at the nearest session.

Arkhangelsk—The city soviet decided to hold no more sessions until new elections in the country.

Kaluga—The minor council of the region decided to address the president with a proposal to hold elections to regional soviets in March 1994 thus reiterating its negative attitude to the presidential programme of reforming regional bodies of legislative authority.

Pskov—The minor council decided to reform the city soviet which will be called the city duma after elections on December 12. The city council will consist of 15 people.

Saratov—139 deputies of the regional soviet voted to dissolve their council, while 54 were against. However, the decision was not passed as a total of 201 votes was necessary for it. A big number of deputies has already resigned their mandate and did not participate in the seesion.

Still, Head of the Administration Yuriy Belykh announced that he takes over all powers in the region.

Mayor Sobchak Orders Closure of St. Petersburg Soviets

LD1110164093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1405 GMT 11 Oct 93

[Text] On October 9 and 10, the police of St. Petersburg sealed the offices of the district soviets by order from Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak.

Chairman of the City Council (Soviet) Aleksandr Belyayev said that this measure had been taken to protect property and implement the president's decree on the reorganization of the representative and self-government bodies.

However, the president's representative in St. Petersburg, Sergey Tsyplayev, assessed the measure as the local authorities's initiative and stated that the decree did not imply anything of this kind. Tsyplayev announced that he was having talks with the mayor and the heads of the district administrations on opening access at least to the offices of the chairmen of the district soviets.

Following a telephone conversation with Belyayev, Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak, who is in Moscow now, agreed to soften the measure in relation to the leaders of the soviets.

On Monday morning, Belyayev met with the leaders of the district soviets who, he said, demonstrated their understanding of the president's decree.

On the same day the deputies of district soviets were denied access to their offices.

In St. Petersburg's Kuibyshevskiy district, the deputies were allowed to collect their personal things in the presence of policemen. All deputies went on a 3-day forced leave.

Soviets Continue To Work

LD1210191693 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1500 GMT 12 Oct 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Correspondent V. Batalov] It seems that St. Petersburg's rayon soviets have been ordered to live on for a long time yet. In accordance with an instruction from [St. Petersburg Mayor] Anatoliy Sobchak, all the rooms of the city's 24 rayon soviets were sealed. This was done in connection with the president's decree on the cessation of the activities of local organs of power.

Even so, the seals that appeared on the office doors came as a surprise to most members of the rayon soviets.

[V.Konstantinov, chairman of Kuybyshev Rayon soviet] We are using, or rather making use of, the president's decree rather easily. After all, if one reads the president's decree closely, there's nothing of this in it. It just says "reform the soviets." But not by ultimately cutting off their heads.

[Batalov] Soon the seals were removed, but only from the offices of the soviet chairmen. The situation that has developed in St. Petersburg has caused a lot of uncertainties and problems, of which there were already quite enough anyway. The city soviet claims that the three-day forced leave is needed in order to settle financial and property matters.

Needless to say, the cumbersome and scarcely manageable soviets have not justified themselves. But does one really need a revolutionary earthquake in order to reform them? It seems that the aftershocks of great upheavals are still alive in us.

Deputy Prime Minister Chubays Visits St. Petersburg

LD0910151693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1305 GMT 9 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Fomicheva]

[Text] St. Petersburg October 9 TASS—A Petersburg visit of Russian Vice-Premier Anatoliy Chubays aims to prepare for the upcoming elections and meet heads of major Petersburg industrial enterprises. The official will attend a meeting of the Choice of Russia regional bloc, a conference of the Leyontyev Center and a meeting with Petersburg financiers and bankers.

"Main obstacles on the way of radical reforms have been removed. We want to use this situation by 100 per cent, the government thinks we are lagging behind in the adoption of laws on property, bankruptcy, joint stock societies and private property on land," Chubays told heads of Petersburg plants.

"It was impossible to adopt these laws at the former Supreme Soviet and the government used the two thirds of its work time to regulate relations with the parliament when trying to take a decision".

The vice-premier positively estimated privatization progress throughout Russia and noted its high rates in St. Petersburg. He said no radical changes in this process are planned before July, 1994, although some corrections are possible. A presidential decree may soon adopt a specific privatization program for 1993-1994.

Over half of 14,500 enterprises liable for privatization have been corporatized, 5,000 of them underwent privatization voucher auctions. Corporatization of state enterprises is expected to complete by the end of next year together with the privatization voucher process.

Chubays informed the plant heads about the immediate and long- term plans of the government, including the adoption of laws on bankruptcy, protection of share-holders' rights and revision of approaches to investments.

"We must abandon outdated soviet mechanisms of investments. A mere increase of taxation cannot be the only income source of the federal budget. New approaches to investments and successful investment tenders are a channel to obtain finances from private sources.

"The government is discussing a mechanism to use the three- billion credits issued by the 'seven' member-states, but this money will be assigned only to privatized or corporatized enterprises. The role of the state must be minimum, and credits must be used through regional funds of enterprises".

In the opinion of Anatoliy Chubays, the financial situation is very difficult. The country cannot work with the huge budget deficit. It is now senseless to count on easy-term allocations or taxation. The main task of the government is the lowering of inflation rates to ten per cent by December, 1993. The rates were 29 per cent in August, 1993, and 20 per cent in September.

Grain purchase conditions will be tough. The government plans radical reduction of foreign grain purchases at the expense of domestic grain harvest and stocks. No less than 10 billion tonnes of grain have been preserved since last year.

The government will immediately prohibit easy-term interest rates of the Russian Central Bank, reduce allocations on licenses, abandon allocations on imports and increase export possibilities of enterprises. As for the currency sphere, it aims at stopping the sharp increase of the dollar exchange rate.

Russia cannot afford an irresponsible parliament for four or even two years, said Chubays. He said the recent tragic events in Moscow make them treat the upcoming elections seriously and do not act as detached observers. Russia needs an intelligent parliament, and plant heads must not keep aside from the election campaign. They must have their representatives in the federal body.

On Expected Vote for 'Democratic Choice'

LD1010173993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1612 GMT 10 Oct 93

[Text] Deputy Premier Anatoliy Chubays believes that in December's parliamentary elections the democratic

"Russian Choice" bloc can expect to collect 25 to 30 percent of the vote. He said so in St. Petersburg on Saturday at a meeting with local activists.

According to Chubays, during the election campaign "Russian Choice" intends to closely cooperate with the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms.

In comments on the political crisis in Russia and on the recent tragic events in Moscow the deputy premier said that "Rutskoy and Khasbulatov would not have existed as a political phenomenon, had there been no people supporting the communist and fascist ideology and willing to shed other people's blood for the sake of their own political goals". According to him, the number of such people in the country makes up 3 to 5 percent.

Chubays described as "dangerous" the calls for "shooting Khasbulatov and Rutskoy" made by a number of radicals. "Everything must proceed in accordance with the law, and the actions of the White House "heroes" fall under the Criminal Code article which provides for long imprisonment terms for "organizing mass disturbances". But this must be determined by a court of justice," he stressed.

Speaking about the tragic events of October 3-4, Chubays said that Gaydar's appeal to the Muscovites to gather outside the Moscow City Council was prompted by an extremely precarious situation. According to him, at 21:00 on October 3 the Minister of Communications told the government that all communication centers had been seized by the opposition, and that men with submachine guns were questioning engineers how to handle telephone systems. A government member said that orders issued by the Interior Minister, Viktor Yerin, fell into a vacuum. There were reports that army units "had left their barracks, but they are unavailable". Government members expected to be given arms to use them to protect themselves, Chubays said.

International Affairs

Foreign Ministry Briefing on Zlenko's Trips Abroad

LD1210172693 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1530 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] Kiev, 12 Oct—A briefing took place at the Foreign Ministry that was devoted to the results of the sojourn abroad by Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko.

Anatoliy Zlenko singled out three stages of his visit:

—participation in the 48th session of the UN General Assembly as head of Ukraine's delegation;

—a visit to Washington for meetings and conversations with official representatives of the U.S. Administration on issues of reorganizing the structure of, and searching for a balance in the system of bilateral relations, and also clarifying the U.S. side's stance on cardinal problems, following the U.S. declaration of a course toward developing relations with Ukraine on equal terms;

—participation in the work of the first consultation at the highest level at the Council of Europe in Vienna.

Zlenko noted that the general political debate at the 48th session of the United Nations was mainly concentrated on issues of peace-keeping, increasing the UN's role in resolving socio-economic problems of a global nature, democratization and protecting human rights, and publicizing the UN system under conditions of the new global changes arising. Representatives of delegations from economically developed countries focussed attention on the necessity of dialogue and cooperation with the aim of constructing the foundations of a world order at the beginning of the 21st century, in particular, settling regional and ethnic conflicts, which are dangerous for international peace. The minister produced these figures: The United Nations spent $1.4 billion on peace-keeping operations in 1991, and $3.6 billion in 1993.

A protocol on diplomatic relations was signed with Venezuela. An exchange of opinions took place on setting up a Ukrainian mission to Mexico. Negotiations were held on freeing prisoners of war in Afghanistan.

During the second stage, mutual understanding was reached on balancing relations with the United States by shifting the accent from military and political issues to the economy. Zlenko's stay in Washington concluded the formalization of aid to Ukraine, allocated by the U.S. Congress to the amount of at least $300 million, within the framework of the Law on Aid to CIS countries. A schedule of political and diplomatic work for the next six months was determined.

As for the third stage, the minister pointed out, as follows: "The philosophy and practice of the Council of Europe is to act as a legislator in democratic reforms on the basis of legislation and appropriate respect for human rights." As far as Ukraine is concerned, there are certain discordancies with those standards that are required by the Council of Europe. Zlenko spoke on the work to create a draft of the new constitution and preparation for elections on a democratic basis. Ukraine is one of seven candidacies for membership of the Council of Europe, and will continue its activity [aimed] at joining it as a member. A document was approved, which expressed the attitude of the Council of Europe toward the issues of respect for the rights of national minorities. Zlenko spoke on how these issues were being settled in Ukraine and made some proposals regarding precisely defining the term of "national minorities."

Zlenko on European Security, Alliance

LD1210171393 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1520 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] An important issue of European security was touched upon at today's briefing at the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry, Vladimir Sokolov, our correspondent, has reported, and we are now ready to listen to the details. Hello, Vladimir Yuryevich!

[Sokolov] Good evening. At this briefing held by Ukrainian Foreign Affairs Minister Anatoliy Zlenko, apart from other international problems the issue of creating a zone of stability and security in Central and Eastern Europe was raised. This issue has already long been under discussion. Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk was the first to raise this idea of an association of recently independent fledgling states situated along the former Soviet Union's western borders from the Black Sea to the Baltic. This association was promptly given the name of a Black Sea-Baltic alliance. Originally, Ukraine, Moldova, Belarus, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia were mentioned among its members. After gaining independence, these countries felt rather defenseless on their own. But this idea immediately gave rise to all kinds of false interpretations, particularly about Russia being deliberately removed from such an alliance and even about this alliance being directed against Russia. Meanwhile, the idea was gaining ever broader support even far beyond its original framework. At the briefing, I asked the minister to clarify his view of the idea at the current stage. He said:

[Begin Zlenko recording] Ukraine's initiative to set up a zone of stability and security for Central and Eastern Europe has as its goal creating a flexible mechanism which would promote a climate, or atmosphere, of confidence, cooperation, mutual understanding and would serve as a tool of preventive diplomacy in order to avert some unpredictable consequences which are currently in evidence in some parts of our European continent. This zone, this space of stability and security is open to the states which at one time were members of the Warsaw Pact and to the states which were part of the Soviet Union's geopolitical space—in short, it is open to those who wish to cooperate within the framework of this space or zone. We would not like to see this zone be artificially interpreted as a cordon sanitare, a sanitary frontier, or the like. It is the question of using this initiative for the purpose of making a specific contribution to preventing unpredictable consequences. And the attitude to this initiative is becoming increasingly positive. We are currently working on the issue with the (?French) who have put forward a well-known initiative on creating a pact of stability on the European continent. Anyway, one would like to use this initiative in order to take a number of countries out of the vacuum of security and stability in which they have found themselves. [end recording]

[Sokolov] Well, real ways toward this goal seem to be opening.

Zlenko on Visit to U.S.

LD1210175593 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1600 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Excerpt] Summing up my stay in Washington, I would like to say that the perception of Ukraine has now changed. There is a certain respect for it. This was stated by Ukrainian Foreign Affairs Minister Anatoliy Zlenko today at a briefing.

In his opinion, there is the beginning of a new approach to Ukraine on the part of the United States, and it is a favorable one. Assurances were given by President Clinton himself, Anatoliy Zlenko pointed out, that the United States attaches great significance to the development of relations with Ukraine. [passage omitted]

Further on Zlenko's Comments on U.S.

LD1210180593 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1319 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] Kiev [no dateline as received]—Ukraine's Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko told journalists at a news conference on 12 October that his recent visit to the United States convinced him of the positive U.S. attitude to Ukraine. The Ukrainian minister was pleased with the results of his meeting with U.S. President William Clinton. The U.S. Congress ruled to grant Ukraine financial aid in the amount of at least $300 million dollars. "These funds will be given interest-free," Anatoliy Zlenko specified. "The president of Ukraine and the Cabinet of Ministers are currently examining the framework agreement which determined U.S. financial aid. The money needs to be distributed to different areas as soon as possible."

Ukraine's foreign minister also confirmed a direct dependence between the ratification of the START I Treaty by the Ukrainian parliament and the amount of Western financial aid Ukraine can count on.

Zlenko Opposes Special Status for Russian Peacekeepers

LD1210195993 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1900 12 Oct 93

[Text] Ukrainian Foreign Affairs Minister Anatoliy Zlenko today described the idea of granting a special status to Russian peacekeeping operations as unacceptable. As is known, this issue was once again raised by Russian Foreign Affairs Minister Andrey Kozyrev at the 48th Session of the UN General Assembly.

The head of Ukraine's foreign policy department emphasized: Our state is in favor of peacekeeping operations being used solely on the basis of a decision by the UN Security Council.

Kravchuk Advocates Long-Term Economic Ties With CIS

LD0910063193 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1600 GMT 8 Oct 93

[Text] It is necessary to manufacture more quality goods for the people and to see to it that the manufactured products are competitive and comply with the world standards. This was stated by Ukraine's President Leonid Kravchuk during his visit today to an interbranch exhibition of industrial goods, which opened at the National Exhibition Center. The president familiarized himself with the exposition showing models of new makes of airplanes, turbines, the latest computer systems and electronic equipment, lathes, buses and a wide range of consumer goods. In a brief interview for journalists, the head of the Ukrainian state pointed out: At present, one cannot place one's hopes only on cooperation and economic ties. The situation develops so that we ourselves must manufacture products whose import is unprofitable. This does not mean that all economic ties should be disrupted. It is important to preserve effective ties, those of a long-term nature. Besides, Ukraine should cooperate not only with Russia but with other CIS countries as well. We all must live in friendship and accord. If we understand this, life will be normal. People will stop worrying and stop being afraid of their future.

Air Force Helicopters in Rescue Action in Georgia

LD1110212693 Kiev Ukrayinske Telebachennya Network in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 11 Oct 93

[Text] The press service of the Ukrainian Defense Ministry reports that crews of 15 Ukrainian Air Force Mi-8 helicopters this morning began operations to rescue Georgian refugees. Several tens of helicopter flights have already been made, and around 600 people and over 30 tonnes of cargo have been transported from mountainous areas near Kutaisi.

The situation in the area is gradually stabilizing, which enables the Ukrainian aviators to carry out their mission promptly and effectively.

Kravchuk Accused of 'Temporizing' Over Moscow Events

AU1010195693 Kiev UKRAYINSKA HAZETA in Ukrainian 7-20 October 93 p 1

[Commentary by Oleksandr Skoryna, UKRAYINSKA HAZETA correspondent: "In Moscow—Bloodshed, and in Kiev, We Are Ashamed of Ukraine"]

[Text] We are supporting the Russian Government and those forces that are fighting for democracy, reads the 3

October statement by Ukraine's Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the occasion of the adventurism manifested by false President Rutskoy and ex- chairman of the Supreme Soviet Khasbulatov. However, why is it that there is no statement on the decisive support for the legitimate president of Russia who is now in a difficult situation and who must defeat the initiators of the bloody mutiny, those who are responsible for the death of innocent people, numerous casualties, and, perhaps, even the beginning of a civil war?

Why was the Ukrainian president silent on the first day of the Moscow tragedy?

I feel sad and ashamed of Ukraine. I am also embarrassed by our president's position. Why didn't he, as a friend and neighbor of the Russian president, declare full support for Boris Yeltsin the very moment of the Rutskoy and Khasbulatov criminal marches against the Moscow municipality and the "Ostankino" Television Center?

It is possible that Leonid Kravchuk made a phone call to Boris Yeltsin on 3 October. It is also possible that he could even have offered military assistance to the Russian president. However, he should have openly declared this to the Ukrainian and Russian peoples through the mass media and immediately appear on television with an urgent statement.

We are very close neighbors and we must not stand aside when Russia is in danger; we must keep together in such times, like true brothers, shoulder to shoulder. On that same day, Leonid Kravchuk sent greetings to [the town of] Vasylkiv on the occasion of the millennium since the foundation of that rayon center. It was a remarkable event, but the events in Moscow were of greater priority—the most important in the world. Because the fate of Ukraine was also at stake there.

If our state is independent, it must always have a decisive, open, and independent position. By no means should it be temporizing!

Prospects for Moscow-Like 'Bloody Conflict' Viewed

WS1310081493 Kiev UNIAN OHLYADY, KOMENTARI, PROHNOZY in Ukrainian No 19 11 Oct 93

[Commentary by Mykhaylo Biletskyy: "Moscow Turmoil and Ukrainian Perspectives"]

[Text] Commenting on the tragic events in Moscow, Ukrainian politicians and politics experts are, first of all, comparing the situations in Russia and Ukraine. The overriding tone in discussions is happiness and relief that the same has not happened here, and praise for state leaders over that fact. Yuriy Zbytnev, leader of the Social Democrats, has even said: "I am sure that it would not be possible for that to happen in Ukraine."

Unfortunately, I cannot share his optimism. At first look, the situation in Ukraine is really different from the one in Russia. There are no serious disagreements between the president and the legislature. Our "reds" and "browns" are at odds with one another, and any cooperation between them is impossible. However, these are secondary symptoms of society's readiness for bloody conflict. Let us examine the primary ones.

First of all, there are antagonistic disagreements within our society. There are two basic issues that could divide the Ukrainian people—their stand on economic reform and the nationality issue, as well as on ties with Russia and the CIS. The first issue—unlike in Russia—is not dividing our people yet, despite Ukraine's economic disaster and the impoverishment of its people. There is no sense in blaming genetics for domestic matters. The most important role is the balance of forces in ruling circles. Moscow reformers, despite all their mistakes, have achieved a lot, and former owners of the socialist economy, losing their positions, have become the center of resistance. They began their fierce battle and were followed by various social forces. In Ukraine, reform has not yet been launched, so anti-reformers do not have to bother with it. Potential reformers (including the National Democrats) have a somewhat dispassionate academic approach to the issue. There is no chance of the masses following them. Politicians cannot reasonably explain the impoverishment of the masses, and their attention has transferred to other issues.

The real passion of most of our new-generation politicians is establishing a national state and, connected with this, the nature of Russian-Ukrainian relations. I will not characterize contradictory points of view, because they are well known. This issue has been emotionally considered and it is considered very important (I will cite Stepan Bandera [leader of Ukrainian nationalists during World War II]: "...attitude toward Moscow as well as Moscow's nationality and statehood is one of the Ukrainian people's elementary questions that has developed over the centuries. It is of great importance to us.") Our society is divided into two antagonistic camps by attitudes toward this problem. Representatives of both camps are not able to talk with their adversaries and do not even wish to analyze opposing points of view. Additionally, division into the two camps falls in line with geographical divisions. To illustrate the above, one could mention two widespread stereotypes: The reason for our impoverishment is either participation in the CIS or the breach of ties with Russia...

Speaking about psychological preparations for civil war, we can argue with Russia which is the best. However, while in Russia such propaganda comes from a single "opposing" side, in Ukraine it comes from two sides—the communists and the ultranationalists. "And there will be no master-democrat on the new soil"—as the socialist newspaper TOVARYSH cited Taras Shevchenko [Ukrainian 19th century poet]. The nature of appeals by the National Ukrainian Assembly, the State Independence of Ukraine, and other ultranationalist organizations, could be pictured with examples from almost every one of their papers: "Civil (international and interdenominational) conflicts demand that passions run high and psychological readiness for violence be achieved... To successfully fulfill these duties, Ukrainian

National Self Defense [UNSO] commanders must study street-fighting tactics... There is nothing left to do but grab your machine gun and shoot... Bow-legged, vodka-reeking Russkies will be our antelopes and gazelles..."

The alarming thing is not only that extremist organizations are openly operating in Ukraine, but also that they are becoming part of our life, supported by the most respectable politicians and political organizations in our country. Metropolitan Volodymyr, vicar of the patriarchal altar of the Kiev Patriarch Ukrainian Orthodox Church, and academician Yukhnovskyy have voiced their support for UNSO.

So, there is enough heat in Ukraine to ignite a fire storm. I am afraid that if that happens, it will not be extinguished as soon as in Moscow. Unfortunately, few politicians realize this. There are different points of view on this threat in the Supreme Council, where the UNSO was once called a "patriotic organization." Apparently, it is rather impossible that the entire Supreme Council supports the security measures proposed by the president.

Moscow Denies Revising Massandra Fleet Agreement

LD1110221893 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 2035 GMT 11 Oct 93

[Text] Kiev—On 11 October, the press secretary of the Russian Federation's Embassy to Ukraine confirmed in a conversation with UNIAN correspondents that Russia's position on the Massandra agreements has not changed, contrary to reports by some news agencies, on Russia's official circles having allegedly revised their attitude toward buying part of the Black Sea Fleet. Recently, the Russian Foreign Ministry issued a statement on the Massandra agreements, which in particular confirms as follows:

"The task is now to continue and implement the agreements as soon as possible. Russia is ready for that." In accordance with the same statement, a bilateral agreement was signed between Russia and Ukraine recently on the guarantee period and manufacturer's [avtorskyy] supervision of the operation of the strategic forces' strategic missile systems. It is in connection with this that Russia insists on the soonest possible withdrawal of nuclear charges, the guarantee period of which has expired.

Nationalists Demonstrate at Black Sea Fleet Base

LD1210154993 Moscow ITAR-TASS 1148 GMT 12 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunayskiy]

[Text] Moscow October 12 TASS—Nationalistic organisations in the city of Nikolayev in the south of Ukraine have begun picketing a brigade of the Black Sea Fleet stationed there, ITAR-TASS learned from the Black Sea Fleet headquarters in Moscow on Tuesday.

Taking part in the pickets are activists of city departments of the Rukh organisation, the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists, the Democratic Union of Ukraine, the Democratic Party of Ukraine, the Nikolayev-based Solidarnost trade union association, the Ukrainok Union and Prosvita Society.

Protesters demand that the Ukrainian authorities stop supplying provision to the part of the Black Sea Fleet stationed in the Nikolayev region, completely cease all kinds of provision to the Slava missile cruiser undergoing repairs in Nikolayev and withdraw all ships belonging "to a foreign state" from Ukraine.

Nationalistic organisations suggested that First Rank Captain Nikolay Yarotsenko take an oath of allegiance to Ukraine and transfer the brigade under the jurisdiction of the Ukrainian Defence Ministry.

Yarotsenko has rejected this proposal.

Military Official: 'Realistic' To Sell Part of Fleet

AU1010195793 Kiev UKRAYINSKA HAZETA in Ukrainian 7-20 October 93 p 2

[Unattributed report from Kiev: "Support for the Ministry of Defense!?"]

[Text] At the plenum of the Officers Union, its chairman Major General Oleksandr Skipalskyy, in his interview for a UNIAN correspondent, fully supported the position occupied by [former defense minister] Kostyantyn Morozov regarding the Black Sea Fleet: "A part of it must belong to Ukraine, and the shore infrastructure, which must also be Ukrainian property, must be used jointly."

Asked whether it is realistic to sell a part of the fleet to Turkey, Japan, or some other country, Oleksandr Skipalsky answered in the affirmative, having remarked that it must first be decided to whom it is more advantageous to offer it. The chairman of Ukraine's Officers Union stated that, possibly, the union will support the proposal to turn to the United Nations with a request that an independent commission of experts determine the mutual indebtedness between Ukraine and Russia.

The major general also pointed out that "Russia is pursuing an openly cynical and pillaging policy."

Black Sea Fleet Officers Accused of Reselling Fuel

LD1110121293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1024 GMT 11 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunayskiy]

[Text] Moscow October 11 TASS—Some commercial structures of the Crimea and a group of Black Sea Fleet officers have been declared accomplices in the illegal resale of a major shipment of fuel earmarked for the Black Sea Fleet and the Ukrainian naval forces by the investigators representing the military prosecutor's office of the Ukrainian Navy and the Black Sea Fleet.

Well-informed sources in the Ukrainian naval forces told ITAR- TASS that the investigators established that local traders connived with some senior officers of the Black

Sea Fleet to sell diesel fuel and gasoline on the black market and export it out of Ukraine.

As a result of these machinations, enough fuel was embezzled to enable a flotilla to sail the seas for twelve months, a Ukrainian military source told ITAR-TASS.

A group of Black Sea Fleet officers and traders has been taken into custody by the prosecutors, ITAR-TASS learned from the same source.

Kiev Allegedly Asks Moscow To Buy Space Technology

LD0910093593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1916 GMT 8 Oct 93

[Text] It is now known that Ukraine's former Defense Department Chief, Konstantin Morozov, insisted that Russia must either provide space-related intelligence gathering or buy the space technology and equipment deployed in Ukraine at world prices. This follows the disclosure of the contents of his letter sent to Deputy Prime Minister Valeriy Shmarov who is responsible for the engineering and defense-related industry and conversion.

Morozov was replaced by General Vitaliy Radetsky on Friday.

The letter says that the Ukrainian defense ministry was heir apparent to all of the Soviet Union's military property deployed in Ukraine following its declaration of independence.

Earlier, the Russian Defense Ministry in a letter to its Ukrainian counterpart had recommended that a K-77 rocket booster and 644 spacecraft kept at an engineering plant in Dnepropetrovsk be transferred to Russia.

The former Soviet defense ministry had paid up for the repair of that equipment covering a period till January 1, 1992.

Lukyanenko Reportedly Resigns as Envoy to Canada

AU0610124493 Ivano-Frankivsk HALYCHYNA in Ukrainian 28 Sep p 1

[Text] Rumors to the effect that Ukraine's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary in Canada Levko Lukyanenko is going to leave his post have been confirmed.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has not yet given any details and nor has it offered any comment on this occasion. Nor does the headquarters of the Ukrainian Republican Party have any details. Levko Lukyanenko had been chairman of that party prior to his appointment to the ambassadorial post.

German Government Delegation Ends 3-Day Visit

LD0810235193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1738 GMT 8 Oct 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Alexey Petrunya for TASS]

[Text] Kiev October 8 TASS—An official delegation from Federal Germany led by Walter Kittel, who is in charge of technical assistance to East European countries, visited Ukraine from October 6-8.

Delegation members met President Leonid Kravchuk and Chairman of the Supreme Soviet Ivan Plyushch. They also had talks with the chairman of the International Cooperation and Investment Agency Valentin Landik and Vice-Premier Vasily Yevtukhov.

German guests visited the parliament commission on legislation, the Ministries of the Economy, Finances, Foreign Economic Relations, Justice, Agriculture and Food, and the Environment. They also visited the institute of the state government self-government at the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine.

The meetings and the joint press conference held by Walter Kittel and Valentin Landik were told that Germany was playing a leading role in foreign aid to Ukraine.

The two countries agreed that priority should now be given to the working out of a programme of consultative and technical assistance. The programme will be funded by the Government of Federal Germany.

National Affairs

Kravchuk Appoints New Transport Minister, Advisers

LD1110175793 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1329 GMT 11 Oct 93

[Text] Kiev [no dateline as received] By a decree of the president of Ukraine, on 9 October Valeriy Kravchenko was appointed adviser to the president on foreign economic issues, Ihor Markulov adviser on issues of market reform, Ihor Podolyev adviser on credit and financial issues, and Zinoviy Tkachuk adviser on issues of the agroindustrial complex. Orest Klympush was appointed Ukrainian Transport Minister.

Kravchuk Meets With Trade Union Federation Head

LD1210202893 Kiev Ukrayinske Telebachennya Network in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] A meeting between Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk and Oleksandr Stoyan, head of the Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine, took place today. The conversation focused on the position of the trade unions regarding increasing social protection of the population under the conditions of deepening economic crisis, measures against the severe impoverishment of those employed in the state sector of the economy, and the renewal of the stimulating function of payment for labor.

Proposals of the Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine for resolving these problems were passed to the president. Leonid Kravchuk issued an instruction to Yukhym

Zvyahilskyy, acting prime minister of Ukraine, to examine them and take account of them in practical activity.

On behalf of member organizations the head of the Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine expressed fundamental disagreement with the draft resolution prepared by the cabinet of ministers on improving, forming, and utilizing funds for social insurance. The president acknowledged it to be expedient to suspend preparation of this draft and set up a coordinative commission to prepare jointly with all trade union associations of Ukraine proposals regarding improving the work of the existing social insurance fund.

Preparations for concluding a general tariff agreement for 1994 were also discussed.

Kravchuk Meets With National Entrepreneurs Group

LD1210220493 Kiev Ukrayinske Telebachennya Network in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk met members of the national council of the All-Ukrainian Association of Entrepreneurs today.

[Unidentified correspondent] The national council, representing industry and regional structures, and agrarian, industrial, and banking formations, met this morning before meeting with the president of Ukraine.

The participants informed Leonid Kravchuk of the results of their discussions, at which the point of view of Ukrainian entrepreneurs was elaborated regarding the economic situation in the (?country), and the influence on the economic situation not only of economic policy, but also of policy as a whole, which is now beginning to depend on certain tendencies at their initial stage and on preparation for pre-term parliamentary and presidential elections.

As for Leonid Kravchuk himself, Petro Tsekhmister, general director of the Kamyanka association and director of the Kamyanka- Shakhtarska mine, believes that President Kravchuk's well-considered position is most acceptable in the Donbass region in spite of all the tension in the region.

There was talk at the meeting of the necessity of educating a new generation of economists, as according to the entrepreneurs the stance of the current representatives of economic theory is a mistaken one. It is still (?based on) the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. After all the point is not theoretical research on the relative merits of capitalism and socialism, but the importance of specific steps in reforming the Ukrainian economy in a market direction, of which Leonid Kravchuk is also an adherent.

After all, this is confirmed by the very fact of today's meeting with Ukrainian entrepreneurs, who, it seems, trust the president of Ukraine and strive to cooperate with him in reforming our economy, which will in fact make it more stable.

Kravchuk on Liberalization of Coal Prices

LD1210224493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1942 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] Ukraine's government will give its backing to all proposals made by coal enterprises on stabilizing production, except those which can lead to inflation, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk declared on Tuesday during his meeting with directors of the republic's coal associations and mines.

Leaders of enterprises who attended the conference said that release of coal prices in the republic would lead to the ruin of Ukrainian statehood. Kravchuk pointed out that the release of coal prices can be implemented only with the general liberalization of prices in the state economy.

The government's representatives indicated that 17 of 46 demands set forth by miners in the course of the June strike had been fulfilled, 22 are under consideration, and the government refused to fulfill 7 demands.

The government relieved mines of paying penalties, increased the consumption fund, and established subsidies to the coal branch until the end of 1993.

The volume of subsidies for October only constitutes 541 billion karbovanetsy.

Cabinet of Ministers Discusses Coal Industry's Problems

LD1210230193 Kiev Ukrayinske Telebachennya Network in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] [Announcer] A consultation on issues of stabilizing the work of the coal industry took place at the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine today.

[Unidentified Correspondent] President of Ukraine Leonid Kravchuk, acting Prime Minister Yukhym Zvyahilskyy, the heads of the State Committee for Coal and other ministries and departments, on which the normal work of coal workers depends to a great extent, and representatives of independent mining trade unions, took part in the work of the consultation.

The necessity of this meeting, noted Yukhym Zvyahilskyy when opening it, is dictated by the situation, that has arisen on the eve of winter in the fuel and power complex, and it cannot but cause concern in the leaders of the state and the government. In this connection, emphasized Ukraine's acting prime minister, we are well aware that without stabilization of the work of the coal extraction industry Ukraine cannot overcome the deep economic crisis.

Mykola Surhay, chairman of the State Committee for Coal, delivered information on the state of affairs in the coal industry.

The main problem, that needs to be resolved at a state level, participants of the consultation stressed in their speeches, is prices and pricing. Because accounting prices for coal are now a lot lower than purchase prices for products of machine-building, timber, and other material, and technical resources necessary to miners. And then bankruptcy threatens most mines, which the heads of coal extraction enterprises believe is artificially created.

A program for getting the industry out of the crisis was discussed at the consultation, based on the technical sufficiency of material and technical resources, in tandem with the necessary volume of coal extraction and development of the social sphere.

Kiev Considers Economic State of Emergency, Rationing

MK1010065093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Oct 93 p 3

[Text] A meeting took place among President Leonid Kravchuk, members of the government, people's deputies, and managers of the republic's industrial enterprises.

The discussion mainly centered on the question of speedy reform of the Ukrainian economy and bringing it out of the crisis. Participants in the meeting insisted that the fixed rate of [foreign] currency be abolished. In their opinion, this harms Ukraine's economy and leads to reductions in its exports. A proposal was made to revise taxation policy.

There was also a proposal to impose a state of economic emergency in Ukraine and food rationing.

It was decided to draw up corresponding documents and present them for examination by L. Kravchuk on 20 October.

'Old Team's Players' Retain Posts in New Government

PM0810152193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Oct 93 First Edition p 2

[Report by Nataliya Zinets of UNIAN news agency "specially for IZVESTIYA:" "Leonid Kravchuk Forms New Government From Old Ministers"]

[Text] In accordance with the constitution Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk has submitted nominations for the leaders of the key ministries and state committees, whom he does not have the right to appoint personally by presidential edict, to the Supreme Council for consideration and approval.

Parliament approved all the candidates proposed by Kravchuk as members of a new government whose leadership the president assumed following Prime Minister Kuchma's September resignation. The chairman of of the Ukrainian Security Service, the ministers of internal affairs, justice, and finance, and the chairmen of the State Committee for Protecting the State Border and the State Customs Committee retained their portfolios.

Kravchuk proposed that current Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko be appointed head of the foreign policy department. But the question was postponed because Minister Zlenko was on a working visit to the United States on the day of the discussion. The new defense minister was not approved either. Konstantin Morozov, who headed the department previously, made a resignation request to the president, which was met. But a new candidate has not yet been determined.

In connection with the Moscow events some deputies expressed concern at the start of the plenary session over Morozov's resignation and the state of Ukraine's external and internal security. However, the leaders of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ukrainian Security Service, and State Committee for Protecting the State Border were approved in a matter of minutes, virtually without discussion.

The parliamentarians devised a very long examination for Grigoriy Pyatachenko, who ran for the post of finance minister in what is already independent Ukraine's third government. The people's deputies wanted to know why budget expenditure on granting preferential credit (at a 5-percent rate) to state enterprises has been exceeded by more than 1,900 percent compare with planned expenditure since the beginning of the year. Why were the same "privileged few" also exempted from excise dues and currency earnings payments? Is it not because their directors are close to parliament and the government? The experienced minister avoided giving a clear answer to this and other questions.

Apart from him, State Customs Committee Chairman Anatoliy Kolos got a roasting (the service he is in charge of has been accused of bribery and of...checking the suitcases of people's deputies traveling abroad), as well as Justice Minister Vasiliy Onopenko (he was simply unable to explain the reason for the legal tangles arising during the registration of political parties and public associations).

This "irresponsibility" angered the deputies. But in spite of this, after the voting, skillfully conducted by parliamentary speaker Ivan Plyushch, all the old team's "players" remained in their previous positions.

'Irreconcilable Stances' Demand Federal Structure

PM0810144993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Oct 93 p 1

[Article by Anatoliy Polyakov under the "Events and Commentaries" rubric: "Will West Ukraine's Politicians Succeed in 'Lvovizing' Ukraine—An Answer to This Question May Be Given by the Supreme Council Session at Which a Discussion of the Drafts of the Ukrainian Constitution and the Law on the Structure of the New Parliament Continues"]

[Text] Kiev—Deputies are more or less agreed that the Supreme Council may be renamed the All-People's Council, that it may comprise 350 deputies, and it may be bicameral, but a unified view on just how to elect it has yet to emerge.

Feelings are running high on the issues of the draft Constitution, Ukraine's state system, the form of sovereignty of the people, and citizenship. Deputies are expressing the most contrary views. And "Rukh" deputies never leave the television screens, which are clearly giving them preference. They argue the need for one Ukrainian language, a united Ukraine, and, of course, the implementation of their policy. Only given these, they say, can Ukraine overcome the profound crisis. But their words exude hypocrisy and pharisaism. And the more hotheaded politicians from the western oblasts are exposing some of their genuine intentions from the parliamentary platform. They declare that Russians in Ukraine cannot be considered part of the people, that the Russian people are located beyond Ukraine's border, and that Russians here are an ethnic minority. When one minister, whose candidacy was endorsed by the Supreme Soviet, began answering a deputy's question in Russian, he was swiftly cut short for using a "foreign tongue."

This is why deputies from Kharkov, the Donbass, the Crimea, and other oblasts are insisting on a federal structure for Ukraine, on extending the powers of the regions, and on bilingualism. They declare firmly that this time the "Rukh" minority and the Supreme Soviet Presidium led by Ivan Plyushch will not foist its will on the majority, which is backed by a significant part of the Ukrainian people. One of the deputies stated directly: "Galichany's politicians will not succeed in Lvovizing Ukraine."

Given such irreconcilable stances and the diametrically opposed views of the legislators, Ukraine, obviously, can expect a federal structure.

Justice Minister Defends Communist Party Registration

LD0810210493 Kiev Ukrayinske Telebachennya Network in Ukrainian 1710 GMT 8 Oct 93

[Interview with Justice Minister Vasyl Onopenko and Nadiya Lukashova, head of the Justice Ministry Directorate for Public Associations, by an unidentified correspondent in Kiev; from the "Uryadovyy Visnyk" program—live]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Correspondent] I would like to ask your opinion on whether the fact that Ukraine's Communist Party has been registered poses any threat to society and Ukraine.

[Onopenko] This is a very good question. I have just heard a new statement by Ukraine's National Movement [Rukh] that says that this registration undermines Ukraine's international reputation. Since we are talking about the possibility that somehow Ukraine fails to abide by international laws, as well as some domestically binding acts, I would like to say the following. I will not rely on mere words. I would like to rely solely on facts and on binding acts. Let us examine the grounds on which the Communist Party of Ukraine has been registered. First, I would like to refer to our primary source: the acting Ukrainian Constitution, Article 49. It says: Citizens of Ukraine have the right to unite in political parties and other public organizations and to take part in movements that help to meet their legitimate interests. The execution of this right is subject to no restrictions whatsoever, apart from those that are envisaged by the law.

Well, are there any restrictions in other binding acts? Where can these restrictions be stipulated? We referred to our law on public associations. It imposes no such restrictions. It merely lists reasons for refusing registration to a political organization. Maybe there are newer acts that prohibit a party's registration? Here you are. Recently, on 14 May 1993 to be exact, the Presidium of Ukraine's Supreme Council passed a resolution on the decrees of the Supreme Council Presidium of 26 and 30 August 1991 on the temporary suspension of the Communist Party and on the ban on the Communist Party of Ukraine. Clause 2 says: Citizens of Ukraine who share communist ideas may form a party organization in accordance with the acting legislation. I am merely referring to our acting legislation.

[Correspondent] Still, Vasyl Vasylyovych, regarding the threat to society, political scientists share the view that it may have prevented the dangerous process that led to the October coup, had the Bolshevik party been registered in a similar way in 1917. Let us take, say, Turkey. The Communist Party was active as an underground organization for many years. Now it is registered, but its ranks became neither more nor less numerous. Where is the threat? Is it in legalization or in the underground activity of a clearly odious party?

[Onopenko] I can answer this, but before I answer your question, I would like to say that this party applied for registration on 4 September this year for the first time.

[Lukashova] It took us almost a whole month to examine the founding documents of the Communist Party of Ukraine. We studied them carefully, and we came to the conclusion as it was described in the press. The delegates of a Communist Party congress made a decision to restore the Communist Party of Ukraine, which had been banned. We also took guidance from the resolution of the Presidium of Ukraine's Supreme Council, which established that—taking into account the results of an investigation by Ukraine's Prosecutor General's office—which brought no criminal charges against Ukraine's Communist Party leadership of actively supporting the coup and thus assisting its success in the territory of Ukraine. This is basic to the decrees suspending the Communist Party of Ukraine. The Presidium made this decision. But we, proceeding from the fact that those Supreme Council decrees had not been revoked yet, had no grounds for registering this party as a restored one. Therefore, registration was refused in writing.

[Onopenko] You see, this fact is little known. In fact, we already refused registration.

[Lukashova] We did refuse it, in writing. Later, taking into account our arguments, and taking into account these decrees, they made changes in their statute and their founding documents. Only on these grounds, taking guidance solely from the acting legislation, did we register this Communist Party.

[Onopenko] The fact is that very many were worried. They phoned me saying: You registered a restored party, so it will now lay claims to property, funds, and so on. Here, I have our official reply to first secretary of the central committee [Kostyantyn] Symonenko, where we specified the grounds on which we had refused registration before. [passage omitted]

Republican Party Head Discusses Political Platform

WS1210080093 Kiev KYYIVSKA PRAVDA in Ukrainian 5 Oct 93 p 1, 2

[Interview with Ukrainian Republican Party Chairman Mykhaylo Horyn by T. Babych; place and date not given: "M. Horyn: 'We Believe That Ukraine Can Overcome Crisis Thanks to Its Wisdom'"—first two paragraphs are KYYIVSKA PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] The latest developments in Ukraine—crisis in the executive branch, the straining of Ukrainian-Russian relations over the Black Sea Fleet and Sevastopol, uncertainty over economic union with Russia and other CIS countries, and finally yet another surge in prices—put forward a question about a constructive and stabilizing force capable of bringing the situation under control. The Ukrainian Republican Party [URP], one of the most organized and influential forces of national democratic orientation, is among the organizations claiming the role of a political leader of society.

The party's head, Mykhaylo Horyn, presented its political platform at the request of our newspaper.

[Babych] In the first place, what does your party have to offer with regard to the present weakness of power and the dissent among different branches of government?

[Horyn] Our position on this remains unchanged: We support the president on a selective basis and reserve our right to criticize certain aspects of his policies which contradict the consolidation of statehood. In particular, these would include the turnover of tactical nuclear weapons, favoring the CIS, personnel policy, etc.; although we put the entire blame for the current political and economic tension on the Kuchma government. This government is responsible for the political defeat of Ukraine at the negotiations in Masandra. Even though it has had no political consequences so far, it is actively employed by Russian political officials and media to lay Russia's claims to the fleet, Sevastopol, and even other regions of the Crimea.

In all his time as prime minister, L. Kuchma bred lack of popular confidence in Ukraine's own potential, proclaiming a tight economic union with Russia as the only way to achieve economic development. On his conscience, he also has the suspension of privatization and the search for alternative energy sources, heel-dragging on economic reforms, and the attempts to restore the administrative management of economy. This the reason why the URP considers it necessary to consolidate a single system of executive power with the president as its head, and then to reform the Cabinet of Ministers. As for the Supreme Council, our position is no secret, too. This Supreme Council exhausted itself long ago and should go away. The same applies to local soviets. The system of soviets proved inept as a form of power and defies its democratic division into executive and legislative branches. This is why we stand for the consistent rebuilding of local bodies of government and legislatures, and why we call for presidential elections.

In addition, the URP and other democratic parties issued a joint declaration calling for a Constitutional Assembly that, besides the Constitution, would also elect a Constitutional Court and adopt laws regulating the operations of all branches of government.

[Babych] Do you think developments similar to those that are under way in Russia are possible here in Ukraine? What practical steps to save the situation would you suggest?

[Horyn] I hope no one doubts that the anarchy, which will certainly appear as a result of the simultaneous stoppage of all branches of power, as some political forces suggest, will only increase the danger of power being usurped by the most reactionary forces. We are convinced that the majority of the Ukrainian people is aware of the need to preserve the most viable branch of power today—the presidential one.

Unlike the legislative deputies, the president was elected by all the people and his powers are the most legitimate. Now that the parliament displayed its inability to take constructive and decisive actions, the best and most politically balanced step would be to give the president extraordinary powers for a clearly specified period of time. Given his repeatedly voiced intentions to lean on national-democratic forces in his activities, one may concede that presidential rule can turn out to be a realistic mechanism for improving the state's situation.

[Babych] Let us put it straight: When choosing their future, people look at the material side of their lives in the first place, which does not give many reasons for optimism nowadays. I am wondering what the URP is offering to overcome economic crisis and reform the economy in general?

[Horyn] In the economic sphere, we give priority to private property, and see the strengthening of the private sector as the base for Ukraine's prosperity. There is no doubt that without private property, there will be no real managers or self-motivated personalities who can dispose of their lives and be responsible for their deeds. To do this, however, a fair privatization of the state property should be launched, replacing the current "nomenklatura" one. The participation of the state should be reduced to laying the groundwork for a legal system, providing support for reforms and ensuring political stability, preferential credits, markets, etc.

One of the key tasks for the state at this point is to undertake anti-inflationary measures—a must for the introduction of a national currency. These measures include narrowing grounds for extending preferential credits funneled to unprofitable industries, keeping salaries in check, ensuring considerable foreign investments that would serve as a base for the stabilization fund of a new monetary unit.

However, one should remember that our crisis is largely caused by outside factors, in particular, our painful dependence on Russian energy sources. To overcome this dependency, one should set up a state body in charge of economic reconstructing and integration with West European economies. One of the forms of such integration could become a Baltic-Black Sea regional commonwealth, for which the URP has long pressed.

For all the troubles Ukraine is presently experiencing, we believe in its future and ability to overcome crisis thanks to its wisdom and potential, without any doubtful unions with other states.

[Babych] Let us not forget that the political scene is very crowded today—at least ten parties and public political movements claim their right to power. What party do you view as its main rival and how do you assess your chances?

[Horyn] One should clearly realize that the ever-deepening political crisis can be resolved either by presidential rule or the seizure of power by a particular political force. Both options allow for several ways of implementation. For example, the nature of presidential power will be to a certain degree determined by the arrangement of the political environment, its meaning and influence. This situation can be favorable to the national-democratic parties on the condition that they manage to unite in time. Although one cannot rule out that forces of a general democratic orientation will gain the high ground. Under the circumstances, a "soft" coalition of all democratic forces, on which the president can support his activities, appears the most probable outcome.

The other option involves the usurpation of power by the incumbent government allied with reform-minded general-democratic forces (partly "New Ukraine" and Liberals) which reflect the interests of international corporations and, thus, always welcome economic union. In this case, the usurpation would not necessary involve a coup d'etat. It can come as a result of the entry of the above groupings into the Cabinet of Ministers.

Under the planned scenario of legislative elections, the struggle will be fought by parties from across the entire political spectrum: on the extreme right—Ukrainian Popular Assembly, Ukrainian Nationalist Union, Ukrainian Conservative Republican Party, and the Ukrainian Democratic Association; the extreme left parties along with the Socialist Party of Ukraine; left centrist parties close to "New Ukraine"; right centrist parties that include the Ukrainian Republican Party-Congress of National Democratic Forces [URP-KNDS]; and the centrist Rukh, whose views on several issues place it between "New Ukraine" and URP-KNDS.

Given the orientation of Liberals and the Rukh on the workers' (especially coal miners') movement, it is possible that they might want to form a coalition along with "New Ukraine." If this is the case, it will mean Rukh's abandoning of national principles of state-building. In this case, representatives of the center right would remain as the only advocates of the national spiritual and cultural development of Ukraine.

Incidentally, our party is perfectly aware of the fact that by placing emphasis on the people's economic needs and social protection, and neglecting national and cultural issues, our rival can win popular votes and gain political power. Power, however, is not a goal in itself. It is a means of building an independent and developed state—not only in economic but also in spiritual and cultural terms. We see it as our goal, and want to take it to the people.

Rightwing Groups Allegedly Gaining Strength

PM0810144193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 Oct 93 p 7

[Vitaliy Panov commentary: "The Wind Blowing From Moscow. Various Political Forces in Ukraine Are Trying To Catch It in Their Sails"]

[Text] Lvov—Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk once remarked that, if a frost strikes Moscow on a Sunday, Kiev will be sure to turn cold by Monday. The wind blowing from Moscow has scattered the contradictions which had been on the point of settling in Ukraine itself and made people look at its position from the viewpoint of what happened in Moscow.

The paramilitary organizations which have emerged in Ukraine were the focus of attention at the Ukrainian Supreme Council session which has opened. The danger of extremist actions—the danger posed by these structures which are actively gaining in strength—is perfectly obvious.

The combat organization of the Ukrainian National Assembly—Ukrainian National Self-Defense—is the blood brother of the Russian "right-wingers" who stormed "Ostankino." This "right-wing" organization graphically demonstrates that extremists of various kinds do not, in practice, have a motherland or permanent convictions. In this sense they actually constitute a unified international. Recently gunmen from this organization were in Dniester region trenches alongside those very people who "distinguished themselves" in Moscow, and only yesterday they were fighting on Georgia's side in Abkhazia.

The most curious thing is that Ukrainian People's Self-Defense apparently does not exist—because of the extremist thrust of its program and constituent documents the Ukrainian Ministry of Justice has refused point-blank to register it. But the "nonexistent" organization is expanding and strengthening literally before our eyes, drawing into its ranks many thousands of young people disillusioned with democratic ideals over the years of independent state existence. According to sociological polls, the principle of fuehrerism is one of the most important factors attracting young people to fascists. Gunmen dressed in dappled coveralls and marching in serried ranks now turn up on the border with Moldova, causing a commotion in the contiguous power, now turn up in the front ranks of attackers of the Ukrainian Supreme Council building at the time of political crises, now rout Russian cultural societies or processions of veterans who have gathered to lay flowers on the graves of their combat comrades, as has been the case in Ivano-Frankovsk and Rovno.

In the city of Sarny not so long ago approximately 200 Ukrainian People's Self-Defense gunmen and Cossacks of the so-called Volyn Host attempted to wreck a court trial of three of their friends. That action took the form of a fierce and bloody battle with the militia, as a result of which dozens of people suffered. Among them, on the attackers' side, was Ukrainian People's Deputy Nikolay Porovskiy, who together with another Ukrainian parliamentarian—Vasiliy Chervoniy—led the right-wingers into battle. The most significant thing is that not so long ago Porovskiy was known as a fiery Komsomol [Lenin Communist Youth League] organizer, while Chervoniy was the commissar of an operational Komsomol detachment. Indeed: If you go to the left, you will come to the right. And vice versa.

A draft law banning the use, funding, and training of mercenaries is now being prepared. The adoption of such a draft law will come as a strong blow to right-wingers, who, wishing to increase their political authority, not only commit excesses at home but also actively strive to participate in international conflicts.

Ukrainian People's Deputies Larisa Skorik and Tatyana Yakheyeva have maintained that such a draft law infringes human rights and that the real danger to the Ukrainian power stems from resuscitated communists and newly formed socialists. Not that there have been any specific facts. As I have already pointed out, Ukrainian "left-wingers" are behaving correctly and cautiously.

In short, very diverse political forces want to catch the Moscow wind in their sails. President Kravchuk has taken this opportunity to greatly strengthen his "executive vertical." He recently assumed powers of direct leadership of the government, which means that he has significantly simplified the system of management by essentially uniting the presidential power and the council power in the same hands. Observing the strengthening positions of both "right-wingers" and "left-wingers," Kravchuk is increasingly firmly taking a centrist stand.

In short, the question of Ukraine's national security is being interpreted very differently by its Supreme Council deputies and could become one of the acutest issues at the present session of parliament.

Economy Minister Shpek Advocates Economic Union

AU0810111293 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian 5 Oct 93 p 3

[Interview with Economy Minister Roman Vasylyovych Shpek by Volodymyr Ilchenko; place and date not given]

[Text] [Ilchenko] Roman Vasylyovych, today there is a widespread opinion that we have liberalized economic relations and loosened the state "reins" in management too soon. Will the expected strengthening of state regulation not lead to the return of the administrative command system?

[Shpek] It is impossible to return to administrative management for many reasons. One of them is the absence of a definite system of executive power.

I believe that the economy of the transitional period is characterized by the fact that it requires state regulation. Not administrative management, but precisely state regulation. I frequently reiterate that we do not always have a correct idea of what it is. We confuse it with the management that was practiced in our country between five and 10 years ago, during the period of building an "advanced socialist society." State regulation in market conditions first appeared at the end of the 1920's with the intensification of the great crisis in the United States. When it was seen there that factors of self-regulation are unable to quickly put the economy in order, state regulation emerged. In our country, these two types of regulation developed during the so-called NEP [New Economic Policy, 1921-36]. It is true that everything ended in the victory of state regulation and, later, Stalin's plans for industrialization and collectivization marked the victory of the administrative system of management.

Our economy will develop as a complex. We will try to promote the establishment of self-regulating factors as much as we can. However, state regulation is also necessary if we want to get a fast economic result. It must primarily be directed at speeding up privatization, developing the infrastructure that services the market economy, and restructuring. Such restructuring is a lengthy process that will take between 20 and 30 years. State regulation is necessary even for creating a legislative medium for a market society.

[Ilchenko] What are the principles for the formation of the state plan and state order for the next year?

[Shpek] The concept of state plan and state order has been elaborated and it was discussed in branch ministries and in the Ministry of Economy, as well as at a government meeting. The documents are being amended and will soon be adopted. It is proposed that the system that exists in 1993 will, to some extent, be preserved. It envisages both state order provided for by the capital of the enterprises and state contract (from the budget). It is necessary to take into account all negative aspects of the present system. To put an end to the lack of responsibility on the part of those organs that distribute state orders without giving much thought to the task. The sides will have to build their relations on contract principles and be materially accountable for this. In my opinion, state order must be announced as an intention to purchase the necessary products. Until direct ties among enterprises start working, we must help them find one another and not to stop producing goods needed for the domestic market. State regulation is also necessary for balancing supply and demand, however ridiculous this may sound in present conditions. I am in favor of enterprises themselves establishing cooperation, but they do not always succeed in doing this due to the discrepancy of prices and due to monopolism—the Anti-Monopoly Committee and branch ministries do not make sufficient effort to restrict the activity of monopolists. I personally am not afraid of the words "state contract" or "state order." They must be understood as elements of state regulation, and not as a return to the old system. One can no longer force a director to do this or that. However, there were certain negative aspects this year. I spoke to one of the directors, and he said: This year, the State Committee for [Material] Resources has made a state order, the enterprise shipped products to the consumer, but the consumer would not pay. What is such an order good for? The State Committee for Material Resources must be made financially responsible for this. It is necessary to fight against such organs of state administration and show them where they belong, so that they would play a fair game. However, we must not reject the state order itself on the grounds that somebody did wrong by ordering something that was not needed or that the consumer's financial possibilities prevented him from paying for the ordered products.

[Ilchenko] Roman Vasylyovych, the state order will apply to 600 types of products. Will not this mean giving up the move toward the market?

[Shpek] It is difficult to tell whether 600 positions is a lot or a little. The main thing is that those organs that distribute a state order must be responsible for it. For example, among the 600 items of products, there are dried fruits. This may sound like a joke, but this product is necessary for feeding the National Guard and the Army. It will be bought with money provided for in the budget for maintaining the Army. This year, we had problems with these fruits.

The list of the types of products for which state orders are issued is not final. It may be reduced or expanded. This does not mean that, for example, all grain or cast iron will be supplied through state order. Between 43 and 45 million tonnes of grain has been harvested, and the state only bought 13 million tonnes; the rest remained at farms for payment in kind, for forming their own fodder base, and for storing the seed.... The same applies to pipes, cast iron, and products of the chemical industry. When self- regulating factors have not yet become effective and it is necessary to ensure production processes, the state declares its intention to make purchases.

[Ilchenko] Today, the negative trade and payments balance with Russia constitutes the greatest threat for the national economy. We have nothing to pay for Russian raw materials. Will Ukraine survive in conditions of world prices of energy sources?

[Shpek] We must proceed to world prices—this is for certain. The main task for today is to raise the efficiency of social labor—in mines, in the field, in the sphere of management, the work of physicians, ministers, and parliamentarians. We must also reduce the consumption of energy and materials in the production sphere and improve this system, because our basic assets are being used extremely unsatisfactorily. I remember, because in the old communist-party times (I worked as an enterprise director), I had to report at production conferences and plenums of the party rayon committees about the average machine shift divided by the number of shifts a day, on the output to capital ratio, and on other indexes. Today, we have lost control over these processes.... Perhaps, the worst damage that was caused to the economy by perestroyka was the election of heads of enterprises and, mainly, foremen and chiefs of workshops. Many things that we did were contrary to common sense. We are saying now: We have low wages. At the same time, unemployment reaches 0.27 percent. We are not paying the worker for the produced output, but just for coming to work. However, one person must receive good remuneration for good work and be motivated to work well, while another person, who has no job, must be retrained at the expense of the state, given an opportunity to open his own business, or be paid unemployment benefit. However, we must not treat equally those who work and those who do not work. If we resolve this problem, the question of the trade balance with Russia will also be resolved, in other words, the consumption of raw materials that we import from Russia and the production of goods will become balanced. We need a stringent regime of saving raw materials resources. Recently, we held a conference with the participation of representatives of all branch ministries. At that conference, we tried to decide how to resolve the problem of the trade balance with Russia or with other countries. If we can buy something at prices lower than in Russia—in Iran, Turkey, or France—very well, but we must have means of payment. If we purchase something in Russia, we may delay the payment, whereas France will not sell us anything unless we pay on time. The conference dealt with ways to lower the consumption of imported products and increase the production of the end product in order to deliver it to places outside Ukraine. The reduction in the consumption of energy and materials is a priority task. We should not use energy sources in such a wasteful manner in the present conditions.

[Ilchenko] What measures must be taken?

[Shpek] Let us imagine a large person whose whole organism is functioning poorly. Yet, we do not say that this person should not live. We must create such conditions for his heart as to enable it to beat normally and remove unnecessary burden. The same thing in the economy—it is necessary to cleanse enterprises. We must get rid of ineffective industries, so that the main production will not perish. For example, every machine building enterprise of ours has a foundry section and, at the same time, metallurgists stand idle without work. Enterprises of the building industry do not have a plan for work or financing, and at every plant, there are building repairs sections whose labor productivity and possibilities are lower than those of specialized construction administrations. It is difficult for heads of enterprises to adopt decisions on closing down their building repairs sections, where people work, but otherwise the entire production may collapse. Such auxiliary productions are abundant in our industry.... It is not obligatory to close them down—they may be made collectives' property and the collectives may be given an opportunity to earn their own money. I have great hopes for cleansing, even though it cannot be effected overnight.

[Ilchenko] The last question, Roman Vasylyovych, a question that, probably, interests all of our readers. What will Ukraine gain by joining the economic union?

[Shpek] It is a difficult question.... At present, it is impossible to live in society and remain in isolation. In the theory of management, there is such an approach: When is partnership possible? I am good and you are bad—we just don't get along together. I am bad and you are good—the same thing. I am good and you are good, but there is a little misunderstanding between us and we must get rid of it....

Today, we are not ready to integrate into the European Community. Before we join it, we must go through certain procedures—both in time and specific actions, a stabilization of the economy, finances, and so on. We may not even be admitted there. We can cooperate with it and intensify this cooperation, but we will not yet become members of that Community. Instead, we have a possibility of joining a community that is taking shape among countries of the former Union. Will we thereby delay our joining the European Community? Because the crisis will intensify, we will lose our traditional markets, and this will lead to mass unemployment. If we get a possibility to join more advantageous unions, we must do this.

At present, there is no Ukrainian economy—it is a part of a "single national economic complex of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]." We must develop, at a new level and on a mutually advantageous basis, ties between enterprises of Ukraine and other former republics of that Union. There is no need to maintain all ties that existed in the USSR—if it is more profitable to purchase coal in Poland than in Kuzbass, why should we maintain ties with Kuzbass?

I am against self-isolation. We must have single price and customs conditions for all enterprises of the former Soviet Union, otherwise our products will not be competitive—in conditions of the consumption of enormous amounts of energy. Therefore, we must proceed from the assumption that I am good and you are good, and the problem that has arisen between us can be resolved without the need to accuse one another.

Adviser Views Reorganization of Security Service

WS1110110093 Kiev KHRESHCHATYK in Ukrainian 5 Oct 93 p 3

[Interview with Major General Volodymyr Prystayko, legal adviser to the head of the Ukrainian Security Service, by Larysa Datsyuk; place and date not given—first paragraph is KHRESHCHATYK introduction]

[Text] **Years later, the horrors of the past are still haunting many of our compatriots. Frightening pictures of the Stalin era, when a powerful totalitarian system, with the help of an instrument of political abuse—the KGB—turned millions of human beings into dust, are still emerging. Will this happen again? Can we expect new social turmoils? Is it possible that the Ukrainian Security Service [SBU] will become an heir to the structures that terrorized the people for years? I have tried to get answers to these questions from Major General Volodymyr Prystayko, legal adviser to the head of the SBU.**

[Datsyuk] Volodymyr Illich, I expect that this will be a sincere conversation.

[Prystayko] So do I. Otherwise, I would not have agreed to have it.

[Datsyuk] It will not be a surprise to you if I say that the people have, to say the least, a vigilant attitude towards the SBU. Though everybody understands that there is a difference between the SBU and the KGB, it is still very hard to overcome a stereotype. There is even a saying—shadows of the past—often used in relation with your department. What is your opinion about that?

[Prystayko] Of course, it is no secret to me. I know about the attitude towards the security services and about the "shadows of the past." Maybe this will amaze you, but I believe that there is nothing wrong with that. We certainly do not expect demonstrations, God forbid, under slogans like "Long live the KGB" or demands "to chop off the heads of the rabid dogs." Time is needed to erase the lack of confidence in the special services from people's memories.

When it comes to the "shadows of the past," I believe that the time has come for us to stop asking one another to repent. Today, we should ask ourselves: What has everyone done for our independent state?

[Datsyuk] I did not intend to hurt your feelings by asking this question. Simply put, the people view the KGB as a machine of repression and an instrument of political oppression that was defending a lawless, totalitarian regime.

[Prystayko] This is exactly what we should work out—how to establish a system and adopt laws that will not allow this to happen again.

[Datsyuk] Do you think that something has already been done in this direction?

[Prystayko] I think that something has already been done, at least, regarding our department. I will try to explain it. First of all, legislative grounds for state security services have been established. The law "On Ukraine's Security Service" was discussed openly, and after being adopted, it was published in the press. The KGB was operating in accordance to the "Regulations on the KGB of the USSR," which due to its extreme secrecy was unknown to not only the general public, but to many KGB employees as well. Consider this: It was neither the Constitution nor a law, but a government resolution that regulated the activities of such a structure as the KGB. So, it was easy to convert it into a tool of repression and use it in a war against the people.

[Datsyuk] What has been changed, as of today?

[Prystayko] From the legal point of view, the activities of state security services have never been controlled so strictly. The status of the SBU is completely different than that of the KGB, which was liquidated by a 20 September 1991 Supreme Council resolution. Everybody from the SBU leadership received new assignments, after their candidacies had been examined by a special legislative committee. The candidacies of low-level employees were also reexamined. In this way, a new special service was established, and it is protecting the independent Ukrainian state.

[Datsyuk] Does it mean that the past will not reoccur, and the law will be efficient enough?

[Prystayko] In a civilized world, a constitution and laws are efficient until a state exists. We cannot be an exception to the rule, and we must obey the law.

However, regarding security services, there is one more important thing—they must work in privacy. To achieve that, personnel should be well trained and stabilized. This means that we cannot change everything.

[Datsyuk] Are you talking about the period when the new structure was being established, or about the present situation, following the dismissal of the Cabinet of Ministers and the head of the SBU?

[Prystayko] I am talking about both. The SBU is completing its establishment period and has begun to operate in full swing. In my opinion, there is an understanding of our objectives among us, and suddenly some changes, I will say frankly—undesired changes—are being made. I will back my position with some examples. In several former socialist countries, security services were completely disbanded, and they have not managed to create new ones to date. In the United States, it took 10 years after its establishment for the results of FBI activities to became significant.

[Datsyuk] Your examples are very important, indeed. However, it is up to our readers to make their own conclusions. Yet, the entire population is entrapped in the tentacles of judicial nihilism. Is the state security service able to do something about this?

[Prystayko] I can say that this is a very important issue. A state judicial education program should be created. Once, it was comfortable to keep the people in judicial darkness. Nowadays, the state need conscious and law-abiding citizens. Regarding the participation in this judicial illiteracy program, our department is open to any kind of cooperation.

[Datsyuk] Are there any specific proposals?

[Prystayko] There is a special unit for relations with civic organizations and media within the SBU. During the first eight months of this year, there have been about 600 such meetings, interviews, and publications. We are ready for further cooperation. However, the media often accuse us and takes sides. They do not try to clarify the legal aspects of a case.

Universities are teaching law at a rather poor level. In all of Ukraine, there is not a single legal affairs magazine. That is why I say that a state program is needed.

[Datsyuk] It is a difficult task to educate a law-abiding citizen. The world has been doing this for hundreds of years. Our situation is just the opposite. In the first place, we did not know our laws. Now, when we know them, we do not obey them. What should be done to change this situation?

[Prystayko] We should teach respect for not only the law, but for the authorities that protect it, as well. By the way, they do not protect only the law, but also citizens against lawlessness.

Now, look at the attitude toward the militia in our country. I will give you not my opinion, but again an example from another country. In England, a policeman is one of the most respected people. To create such an image of a strong, just, and always winning superman is a state policy there. Everything contributes to developing respect for a law enforcement worker—from movies to a real policeman escorting children across the street.

[Datsyuk] A week ago, I witnessed a showdown between the militia and people picketing the legislature. I will say frankly that watching the balance of forces, I wanted to join the protesters.

[Prystayko] There is such a term as sufficient security. This issue was examined by the Interior Ministry, however, it relates primarily to the National Guard. In general, we have come to the same issue with which we began; namely, the supremacy of law and the obedience of citizens.

[Datsyuk] There is one more very painful problem—monuments of the totalitarian era and new symbols. Here and there, conflicts and scuffles break out, and when nationalists in western Ukraine were destroying monuments, there was even bloodshed.

[Prystayko] All this is caused by ignorance, a lack of manners, and historical knowledge, as well as an unwillingness to understand and be understood.

I agree with you. Nevertheless, you must admit that it is impossible to commemorate famine in a country where there are monuments to those who orchestrated it. Can you tell me how to break this deadlock?

Of course, there must be a solution, but it is not the destruction of monuments. As I recall, in Hungary, this problem was resolved in a European way—all monuments were transported to one museum. Now, it is a matter of personal choice—to meet them with flowers or condemnation. I expect that our people can reach national reconciliation and stop searching for enemies among themselves.

Navy Commander on Priorities, Personnel Changes

LD1210222393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1942 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] The commander of Ukraine's Navy, Vladimir Beskaravainy, in an interview to Sevastopol Television on October 12, described as top priority tasks faced by the republic's Navy the command formation, the creation of coastal troops and naval air force.

Beskaravainy called increased discipline at all levels a major priority. He said that servicemen must be provided with housing and food.

Asked whether there will be personnel changes in the Navy, the commander said that at present the right men must be found for key posts. There could be possible personnel changes, he said.

The Ukrainian naval commander intends to form relations with the Black Sea Fleet and its commanders on the principles of friendship and mutual understanding.

Tajikistan

Level of Fighting Along Afghan Border Intensifying

Situation 'Deteriorating'

PM0810163593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Oct 93 p 3

[Aleksandr Pelts report under the "Events and Commentaries" rubric: "Fresh Fighting on the Tajik-Afghan Border. Russian Border Troop Command Gives Offenders Ultimatum"]

[Text] A fresh outbreak of tension on the Tajik-Afghan border coincided with the recent events in Moscow. The essence of the matter is as follows. A major breakthrough was made by Tajik gunmen and Afghan mojahedin 3 October in the region of the tragically renowned 12th Border Post. Over 300 armed men made their way deep into the territory of Tajikistan. It is known that they are led by Tajik opposition leader Mullah Abdurakhim, and Afghan field commander Kari Khamidullo [names as transliterated].

Thanks to the timely and resolute actions of the Russian border guards supported by the 201st Motorized Infantry Division and Tajikistan's National Security Committee, the infiltrating grouping was blockaded near the border post, on the Sari-Tor plateau. It is also known that the group includes instructors from Pakistan, and, it is supposed, from Saudi Arabia.

The group was securely blockaded from the air, and its fate was virtually a foregone conclusion. Mindful of this, but wishing to avoid bloodshed, the Russian Border Troops command gave the gunmen an ultimatum: Lay down your weapons immediately and return to Afghan territory. Otherwise, all necessary measures to eliminate the group will be taken.

It should be noted that this is the first time armed intruders have been offered the chance to return home. Will the gunmen appreciate this? Only time will tell. However, it seems that the Russian border guards' actions aimed at reducing bitterness and animosity on the border were justified.

At the same time, other incidents attest that the border situation is generally deteriorating. The gunmen are preparing for winter, are trying to organize more bases on Tajikistan's territory, and are continuing to intimidate the peaceful population. For instance, a few days ago in the Pamir region eight truck drivers who were on the way to pick up potatoes were brutally murdered. Some of the bodies were decapitated, and others bore the marks of brutal torture. Earlier, in these very same areas, around 30 shepherds were also killed. This happened in the region where the Rizvon [as transliterated] gang operates.

All the indications are that the civil war in mountainous Tajikistan is not abating. The atmosphere across the entire Tajik-Afghan border remains tense. Fortunately, in the past week there have been no deaths among the Russian border guards.

Russian Troops Under Fire

PM1110152793 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 8 Oct 93

[Video report from Tajik-Afghan border by Alisher Khodzhayev and Boris Aramov; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Khodzhayev] [video shows aerial view of border river area from a helicopter gunship over protruding gun barrel] The situation around the Moscow Border Troops Detachment's notorious No. 12 border post remains tense. This morning the post was again subjected to rocket fire from an opposition armed grouping under the command of Mullo Abdurahim. Fortunately the projectiles missed their target. The fire positions were suppressed by a retaliatory volley.

Tajikistan government troops are taking prompt action to neutralize the armed gang which infiltrated the republic's territory 2 October.

Over the past few months border posts along the Tajik-Afghan border have been appreciably strengthened, and attempted armed crossings are now mostly doomed to failure. [video shows aerial view of border area, border installations, gun being fired, APC on the move, servicemen carrying ammunition boxes, helicopter gunship on the ground and in the air; video then shows interview with V. Timofeyev, commander of the 201st Motorized Rifle Division]

[Begin Timofeyev recording] The division continues, in cooperation with Russian border troops, to carry out the task it has been set. Our main aim here is to defend the interests of Russia and the CIS countries. [end recording]

Situation 'Relatively Calm'

LD0910110093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1027 GMT 9 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe October 9 TASS—There were no armed provocations on the Tajik-Afghan border last night and on Saturday morning, a spokesman at the headquarters of the Group of Russian Border Troops in Tajikistan told ITAR-TASS.

The situation in the area of the 12th border post of the Moskovskiy border-guarding detachment was relatively calm as well. In recent days the border post was sporadically rocketed by a group of Tajik opposition militants who had infiltrated into Tajikistan from Afghan territory on October 2.

According to Major-General Anatoliy Parakhin, deputy commander of Russian Border Troops, who is now in Dushanbe, the anti-government group at a strength of about 300, who have been dispersed in a difficult-of-access gorge not far from the border, has been blockaded by Russian border guards and Tajikistan National Security Committee forces.

The militants have only one way out—to surrender—because the paths to the border and deep into Tajik territory have been cut off. In this connection the general emphasised that government forces together with border guards would take most drastic measures with the use of appropriate military means if the militants go on putting up resistance.

Touching upon the recent incident during which six Russian and Kazakhstan border guards were taken hostage, the Russian general said the armed provocation had been staged by Tajik opposition militants from Afghan territory.

On Friday afternoon, 20 hours later, the hostages were released. At the same time border authorities made it clear that in the event of recurrence of similar provocations, "Russian border guards will take adequate measures".

Russians Fired Upon From Afghan Region

LD1010124993 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 10 Oct 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Over the last 24 hours a covering force of the Russian 201st Motorized Rifle Division came under fire in the area in the Pyandzh sector where border post no. 12 is located. Together with the border guards the division is protecting the Tajik-Afghan border. INTERFAX has been told this by General Anatoliy Chechyulin, commander of the Russian border troops in Tajikistan.

According to him, the fire came from Afghan territory. The army covering force and Russian border guards reciprocated and suppressed the enemy's firing points. None of the Russian border guards or servicemen of the 201st division were wounded.

Russians Return Fire Across Border

LD1010173093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1612 GMT 10 Oct 93

[Text] A covering force of Russia's 201th Motorized Division deployed in Tajikistan's Pyanj region came under cross border fire from Afghanistan in the past twenty-four hours, Commander of Russian Border Troops in Tajikistan General Anatoliy Chechulin told Interfax. He said the force and Russian border guards returned fire neutralizing the rebels' firing positions. None of the Russian soldiers was hurt.

Apart from the deployment site of the 12th Border Post, tension also runs high in part of the border protected by the Moscow Border Post. The unit of Tajik rebels and Afghan mojahedins infiltrating into Tajikistan on October 2 has gained foothold in a less accessible part of the mountains and is still efficient despite losses sustained in fighting against government troops. It has now scattered over the terrain after breaking up into smaller groups. In the meantime, work is in progress to set up a CIS force designed to protect the Tajik-Afghan border, Tajikistan's national security committee said. An action plan was drawn up and areas of responsibility were assigned to different army units which will be deployed both on the border and hinterland.

Opposition Shells Post

LD1110064893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0435 GMT 11 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe, 11 Oct—The situation on the Shuroabad stretch [Kulyab oblast] of the Tajik-Afghan border, which is being monitored by the 12th outpost of the Moscow border detachment, remains extremely complex.

The ITAR-TASS correspondent has learned at the headquarters of the command of the Russian border troops in Tajikistan that the stretch was subjected to shelling during the night. It was carried out by Tajik opposition fighters who had infiltrated from Afghanistan in the beginning of October and taken positions several kilometers from the border. The border guards did not return the fire.

Fighting Reportedly Under Way

LD1110210193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 11 Oct 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The operational situation on the Tajik-Afghan border remains extremely difficult. Our correspondent (?Alesh Khodzhayev) reports that at 1900 Moscow time, fighting was going on between the 12th and 13th frontier posts of the Moskovskiy Border Unit, between forces of the Tajik Committee for National Security and Russian border troops on one side, and an armed opposition unit that broke through onto Tajik territory on 2d October on the other.

As was reported earlier, an opposition group numbering about 350 men penetrated from across the frontier to the region where the 12th Border Post is located, but was blockaded in inaccessible mountains.

Our correspondent has not managed to obtain any information as to whether there are any losses.

Rocket Attack Reported

LD1210083493 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0800 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] Here is another report by the RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY. One of the sectors of the 12th border post of the Moskovskiy border detachment on the Tajik-Afghan border was subjected to rocket bombardment today. The bombardment was carried out by militants from antigovernment groupings who infiltrated

Tajikistan from the territory of Afghanistan at the beginning of October. They are now in a mountain locality that is difficult to access. The situation on this sector of the border remains extremely tense.

Foreign Ministry on Situation

LD1210130093 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1136 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] The region where the 12th border post of the Moscow border guards detachment is stationed remains the hottest spot on the Tajik-Afghan border. The information department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, citing the headquarters of the Russian border troops in Tajikistan, reported that last night the border post was subjected to massive fire by militants of the Tajik opposition, who penetrated Tajik territory on 2 October.

The border guards, together with the state forces, retaliated using artillery. As a result, there were killed and wounded among the militants. No border guards were injured.

The operational situation in this section of the border remained quiet during the morning.

Provocations Continue

LD1310080593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0622 GMT 13 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe October 13 TASS—A patrol of the 201st Russian Motorised Rifle Division, guarding the Tajik-Afghan border, was fired upon in the area of the 13th border picket of the Panj border-guarding detachment at 0630 local time on Wednesday. No one was hurt.

One hour later, border guards discovered a tunnel dug beneath engineering facilities and the tracks of two transgressors of the frontier leading from the contiguous side to the rear area of the border picket. As a result of an ensuing clash, one of the transgressors was killed and the other apprehended. A Russian serviceman was lightly wounded.

The situation at the 12th border picket of the Moskovskiy border-guarding detachment remains disquieting, too. Tajik opposition militants, who got infiltrated from the territory of Afghanistan on October 2-3 and consolidated their positions in the rear of the border picket, continue to rocket and shell the border picket area.

On Wednesday morning border guards retaliated with bombing and artillery strikes, and neutralised enemy's weapon emplacements.

Afghan Diplomats in Dushanbe, Discuss Cooperative Ties

PM1210135993 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 12 Oct 93 p 1

[Umed Babakhanov report: "Credits Expected From Visits"]

[Text] Dushanbe—A working group from the Afghan Government arrived in Dushanbe yesterday. The Afghan diplomats and their Tajik colleagues will be preparing a number of draft agreements which will be signed during the official visit to Dushanbe by Afghan President B. Rabbani scheduled for early November. In particular, within the framework of an economic agreement it is planned to step up economic ties between the two Asian states—Afghanistan is prepared to supply the Tajik Republic with oil and gas, while Tajikistan is prepared to supply foodstuffs and prime necessities.

T.W. Simons, the U.S. President's special assistant for humanitarian aid to the CIS countries, also arrived in Dushanbe yesterday on a three-day visit. He will be discussing with the Tajik leadership a specific program for providing emergency economic aid to war-torn Tajikistan.

Incidentally, groups of experts from the World Bank and the IMF are currently working in Dushanbe. The question of providing aid to the republic in reviving its economy will be decided on the basis of their reports, which are scheduled to be delivered to the donor countries' council meeting in February 1994.

Most Political Leaders Ready for Political Dialogue

LD1210191893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1424 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] Tajik Prime Minister Abdumalik Abdullojanov told INTERFAX that Tajikistan would not be able to solve its economic problems without political stability. He said that, luckily, most of the Tajik political leaders had realized the importance of political dialogue with the opposition.

He also expressed hope that a dialogue and the introduction of CIS joint peace-keeping forces would help create the conditions for national reconciliation, economic rehabilitation and the implementation of the economic reforms.

The government does not simply sit back waiting, he said. It is busy drafting laws to back up the economic reforms and to provide guarantees to potential investors.

Speaking about the current situation in Dushanbe, he said that the bread shortages and the paralysis of the city transport were due to the shortage of fuel and lubricants. "We have enough grain and flour, so no one will starve in Tajikistan," he said.

In a couple of days, he continued, Russia will supply crude oil to Tajikistan in accordance with the tripartite agreement between the Russian government, the administration of the Tyumen region and the Government of Tajikistan.

Authorities Discover Underground Arms Caches

PM1110142593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Oct 93 p 7

[Report from the ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA, ITAR-TASS, and REUTER roundup under the "News From All Around the World" rubric: "Dushanbe"]

[Text] Special services in Tajikistan's Khotlon Oblast have discovered several secret weapons and ammunition caches in mountainous areas in a number of regions bordering Afghanistan. Officers removed 200 shells [zaryady] and grenade launchers, hundreds of firearms, thousands of rounds of ammunition, homemade missile launchers, and also a large quantity of combat gear and food. According to the operation's leaders, these underground arsenals were established by gunmen from the Tajik opposition, most probably for waging guerrilla warfare and carrying out acts of terrorism on the territory of the former Kulyab Oblast.

Opposition Commanders Plan Joint Actions

LD1310065393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2013 GMT 12 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe, 12 Oct—Today, a big council of the field commanders from a number of regions of Tajikistan in the Pamir foothills and in the Pamir took place in the village of Yazgulem in Gorno-Badakhshan, at which the plan and tactics for further joint actions against the central government were discussed. The ITAR-TASS correspondent learned this from sources close to opposition circles.

As affirmed by that same source, taking part in the council was Davlat Usmon, one of the leaders of Tajikistan's Islamic Revival Party, the former deputy prime minister in the government of national reconciliation, who had arrived illegally from Afghanistan in the territory of the Gorno-Badakhshan autonomous oblast. The field commanders have received not only instructions from their leaders across the border, but also a promise of help with weapons and ammunition to expand resistance to the present regime in Tajikistan.

The incessant combat clashes between members of the opposition and government sub-units are evidence that the formations opposed to Dushanbe are continuing to operate in the Pamir foothills. Military sources told the ITAR-TASS correspondent that militants under the command of field commander Rizvon have carried out a raid on a government post.

Russian, Kazakh Border Guards Released From Afghanistan

LD0810170093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1443 GMT 8 Oct 93

[Text] Three Russian border guards and three servicemen from Kazakhstan captured October 7 at the Khorog frontier guard station (Gorno-Badakhshan autonomous area of Tajikistan), have been released Friday, Interfax has been told by a spokesman for the national security committee of Tajikistan.

The handover of the hostages taken to the Afghan territory took place after the note of protest had been given to Afghanistan's General Consulate in Dushanbe, and the ultimatum had been issued by the command of the Russian border guards contingent in Tajikistan to Afghan commanders who control the adjacent areas. The ultimatum warned that unless the servicemen were released by the date set, sites where militants of the Tajik opposition and Afghan Mujahideen concentrate would be shelled.

Earlier the Russian Foreign Ministry described the capture of the Russian and Kazakh border guards as an act of banditry and placed the responsibility for it with extremist groups in Afghanistan, who, backing the Tajik opposition, try in every way to hamper the restoration of peace on Tajik soil.

For its part, Tajikistan's foreign ministry has described the seizure as a deliberate action by certain political forces interested in breaking the August bilateral understandings on settlement on the Tajik-Afghan border and improvement of inter-state relations.

Russian Commander Denies Rebel Capture of Officer

LD1110165793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1405 GMT 11 Oct 93

[Text] The commander of Russia's 201th division deployed in Tajikistan, Viktor Timofeyev, has denied a report by Tajik rebels about the capturing of a Russian officer during the recent fighting at Tavil-Dar on the border with Gornyy Badakhshan.

The statement about the Russian prisoner of war was made by the former religious leader of Tajikistan, Akbar Turajon-Zoda, in an interview to the Persian service of the BBC on October 9.

None of the division officers could have been taken prisoner at Tavil-Dar because neither the division itself nor any of its officers were involved in that operation, Timofeyev told Interfax.

Nor were there any other incidents in which a division officer had been taken prisoner during clashes on the Afghan border, he said. The Russian division was moved to the region to tighten border security as part of the CIS Collective Security Agreement.

However, the commander believes that unless the report is false, the captured officer may have been employed under contract by the Tajik Defense Ministry.

Timofeyev also said CIS peace-keepers are due to arrive in the region over the next few days with Commander of the CIS Joint Forces, General Boris Pankov, expected to fly to Dushanbe later this week.

Abdullodzhanov on Importance of Political Stability

LD1210212893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1753 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] Tajik Prime Minister Abdumalik Abdullodzhanov told INTERFAX that Tajikistan would not be able to solve its economic problems without political stability. He said that, luckily, most of the Tajik political leaders had realized the importance of political dialogue with the opposition.

He also expressed hope that a dialogue and the introduction of CIS joint peace-keeping forces would help create the conditions for national reconciliation, economic rehabilitation and the implementation of the economic reforms.

The government does not simply sit back waiting, he said. It is busy drafting laws to back up the economic reforms and to provide guarantees to potential investors.

Speaking about the current situation in Dushanbe, Abdullodzhanov said that the bread shortages and the paralysis of the city's transport were due to the shortage of fuel and lubricants. "We have enough grain and flour, so no one will starve in Tajikistan," he said.

In a couple of days, he continued, Russia will supply crude oil to Tajikistan in accordance with the tripartite agreement between the Russian Government, the administration of the Tyumen region and the Government of Tajikistan.

Abdullodzhanov Urges Improving Consumer Goods Market

LD1210225893 Dushanbe Radio Tajikistan Network in Tajik 1200 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] An enlarged meeting of the presidium of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Tajikistan took place yesterday. The meeting was chaired by Abdumalik Abdullodzhanov, the head of government.

The implementation of the Council of Ministers' decision regulating the export of different kinds of goods from Tajikistan was thoroughly discussed at the meeting.

Deputy Prime Minister Mukhtoshev recalled at the meeting that 1993 banknotes have been paid into the country's account in the Russian Federation. This will facilitate the purchase from Russia of fuel, lubricants, medicines, and other goods that are necessary for the Tajikistan economy.

Abdullodzhanov pointed out that money should first of all be spent on establishing those enterprises which could soon bring benefits, as this is necessary to improve the situation of the consumer goods market of the republic. He pointed out once again that in the Kulyab zone of the Khatlon oblast the orchards should be leased and the foothills should be divided among those people who will try to develop this land.

U.S. Special Envoy Pledges Urgent Humanitarian Aid

LD1210211493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1831 GMT 12 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe October 12 TASS—The Government of the United States of America has confirmed its readiness to render urgent humanitarian aid to Tajikistan, according to chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Tajikistan Imamali Rakhmanov who met with U.S. Department's special envoy Thomas W. Saimons [name and title as received], currently on a visit to Dushanbe. The volume and the size of humanitarian aid, the Tajik leader stressed, will be determined after the American envoy thoroughly familiarizes himself with the economic situation in the republic.

The American envoy expressed his satisfaction with the Tajik leaders' aspiration to stabilize the social and political situation in the republic as soon as possible, to bring back to the country their compatriots who had to leave for Afghanistan to save themselves from the horrors of the civil war, as well as orientate Tajikistan towards implementing democratic market reforms. Thomas W. Saimons emphasised that the United States would continue extending humanitarian aid to the republic which the American Administration began to provide immediately after Tajikistan had won independence. Both sides manifested a great interest in widening mutually beneficial economic cooperation between the two states.

On the same day the American envoy had a meeting with head of the Tajik Government, Abdumalik Abdullodzhanov, during which the two sides discussed various aspects of bilateral economic relations.

The U.S. Department's special envoy continues his visit to Dushanbe.

Turkmenistan

Afghan Aircraft Reportedly Attack on 5 Oct

MK1210150893 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 64, 12 Oct 93 (signed to press 11 Oct) p 1

[POSTFACTUM report: "Afghan Aircraft Bomb Turkmenistan"]

[Text] Confidential sources report that the other day Turkmen territory was subjected to a bomb strike from Afghanistan. The strike was delivered in the area of the village of Takhtabazar. The Turkmen Defense Ministry's press service confirmed the report on 11 October but would not reveal any details of the incident.

According to the report, the bombing attack was carried out on 5 October and involved four to five aircraft. The raid did not cause any casualties or the destruction of any facilities. The aircraft were detected by Turkmen radars when they crossed the border.

Turkmenistan leaders sent an appropriate note to Kabul. Its content is kept strictly secret, but, according to some officials, the Turkmen side is inclined to believe that the raid was carried out by "forces trying to drive a wedge in the traditionally good relations between the two countries."

Plane Reportedly Shot Down

LD1110211093 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 11 Oct 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The POSTFACTUM agency today reported that a number of Afghan aircraft bombed the territory of Turkmenistan last week. There were no casualties. One Afghan plane was allegedly shot down. All the information about what happened has been classified as secret by the military command of Turkmenistan, the POSTFACTUM agency claims.

Government Explains Incident

LD1210160993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1135 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] A source close to the government of Turkmenistan denied media reports of air combat with Afghan war planes in Turkmen air space. He told Interfax, however, that last week an Afghan plane, which evaded anti-aircraft fire from a rival force in north Afghanistan, flew unintentionally into Turkmenistan's air space [illegible] dropped three bombs. Two of them exploded in a [illegible] area far from settlements and the third was found [illegible] by shepherds. There were no casualties.

The Foreign Ministry has reportedly no intention of filing a letter of protest.

There has been no official report of the incident.

Minister Denies Air Raid

LD1310105293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0849 GMT 13 Oct 93

[Text] Ashgabat, October 13 (TASS)—Turkmen Defence Minister Danatar Kopekov refuted reports by some Russian mass media on Wednesday that Turkmenistan was bombed by the Afghan Air Force on October 11 [as received]. According to the minister, these reports are "provocative and disinform the public".

Some Turkmen newspapers printed a statement by the Afghan embassy to Russia on Wednesday, saying that the Turkmen-Afghan border was declared a border of friendship and accord.

"Fraternal friendship and close cooperation between the two countries are a long-standing strategy based on historical traditions, cultural relations and national interests," the document stresses.

"Therefore, a desire by some mass media to drive a wedge into good-neighbourly relations between Turmenistan and Afghanistan is a futile attempt."

Niyazov Addresses People's Council on Reforms

LD0810205293 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1336 GMT 8 Oct 93

[Excerpts] Our program has a direct link with Ashgabat. Today there was a session of the Khalk Maslakhaty, the People's Council, which is the supreme body of state authority in Turkmenistan. Here are details of this now live from our correspondent Mirgen Amanov. We are listening:

[Amanov] First, I should say that the interest of all those attending the session of the supreme body of state authority, the Khalk Maslakhaty, centered around the speech by Turkmen President Saparmurad [Niyazov] Turkmenbashy [honorific title: Leader of the Turkmens]. It was received as the start of the practical implementation of three top priority reforms: the introduction of a national currency; the establishment of a national army; and the transition to private ownership.

The transition to a national currency is to take place on 1 November, so the population will receive its salary for October in manats. The average salary for budget organizations will be 400 manats, and the subsistence wage will be 150 manats. This is quite a lot if you take account of the exchange rate that for the first two or three months will equal one manat to 500 rubles [R] printed in 1993. The old-style banknotes printed between 1961-92 will be removed from circulation. Naturally, new mutually acceptable prices will be introduced for goods, foodstuffs, transport, and other services. For example, the price of a loaf of bread will be 10 tanga, or R50; meat will cost four manats or R2,000.

The tanga - which is the small change, may be introduced as soon as the third week in October. During the period of transition to a national currency, the emphasis is being placed on a mechanism to protect the population. If in November shoppers will only be able to pay for goods in manats, then in many regions, exchange bureaux will be opened.

Savings banks will also exchange up to R30,000 for manats. At the present time, more than 90 percent of the population have deposits containing less than R10,000. These will be increased almost eight-fold and then converted into manats. I think that this represents real assistance for depositors.

So the process of transition to a national currency will probably proceed with some difficulty, but a firm course has been set to do this. [Passage omitted]

Regarding the establishment of a national army, the president stated that this is a real test of our independence. At the present time Turkmenistan is not a member of any of military organization. If it adopted a resolution to enter a military structure, then such a resolution would not correspond to the policy being conducted here of positive neutrality. It must be noted that the process of creating an army is already under way and the first steps have already been taken, particularly the issues of training specialists. A treaty exists on training specialists in Russia's highest military educational establishments, and as you know, the first military institute has been set up and is already working here in Ashgabat. Laws on defense, military service, and conscription have already been adopted.

It was emphasized very strongly that the transition to market relations is only possible on the basis of private ownership taking root, particularly the private ownership of land.

At the same time, the privatization of industry is beginning. Those who have a project for any enterprise will receive interest- free credits to help them accomplish their projects. In the first instance, unprofitable factories and plants will be privatized.

In conclusion, I would like to say that a session of the Assembly was also held within the framework of the Khalk Maslakhaty session. This examined a number of draft laws about the banking system, the status, and social protection for servicemen and members of their families and a number of others which were all adopted.

Russian Troops Complain About Living Conditions

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[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] In the heat of political battles, those in power forget about the people in whose name they are fighting. From Turkmenistan our program has received an appeal by Russian servicemen and their families from the Air Force garrison Mary-2 in the now Turkmen 26th military town. The appeal is addressed to the Russian Federation president and the president of Turkmenistan. Here it is:

We are worried about the situation concerning Russian citizens doing their military service in the Armed Forces of Turkmenistan. Despite an agreement reached between Turkmenistan and Russia, we servicemen and citizens of Russia feel that we are cut off from our motherland and that our civil and social rights are being undermined. A catastrophic decline in professional training has resulted from the absence of material and technical back-up, insufficient number of officers, unpaid wages, and lack of housing.

Poligon will carry out its own investigation.